Heraclides of Pontus

Texts and Translation

Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities

Volume XIV

Edited by
Eckart Schütrumpf

Peter Stork, Jan van Ophuijsen, and Susan Prince, Translators

Heraclides of Pontus

Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities

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Preface

This is the fourteenth volume in the RUSCH series and the fifth to focus on what Fritz Wehrli called *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, or in English, The School of Aristotle. Volume fourteen is unusual in that its subject, Heraclides of Pontus, has but a weak claim to be a member of the School. To be sure, Wehrli includes Heraclides in his collection of Peripatetic philosophers (vol. 7) and in doing so he is following Diogenes Laertius, who includes Heraclides in his fifth book of *Lives*, which is devoted to members of the Peripatos. Nevertheless, that he was in any strong sense a Peripatetic is highly doubtful. Indeed, he is better classified as a member of Plato's Academy, who happened to be in the Academy with Aristotle and may have studied under him as well as with him. That might appear to be a reason for not producing a volume devoted to Heraclides, but there arguments on the other side. First, the RUSCH series can make room for more than card-carrying members of the Peripatos (vol. 7 is a one-off Festschrift) and second, scholars interested in the School of Aristotle must at some point consider Heraclides. For even if Diogenes Laertius was wrong to treat

Heraclides as a Peripatetic, Heraclides was interested in topics that were under discussion when Aristotle established his School.

This volume contains the surviving sources for the life and thought of Heraclides. The ancient texts have been collected and edited by Eckart Schütrumpf and the facing translation has been provided by Susan Prince, Peter Stork and Jan van Ophuijsen. The sources were discussed at a conference in Leeds, at which formal papers were presented and subsequently discussed. For reasons of space, the papers are not included in this volume. They will appear in Volume 15 together with several papers that were not presented in Leeds but were written in response to the work done there. Volume 15 should be viewed as a companion to the present volume and used in conjunction with it.

The conference referred to in the preceding paragraph was held at the University of Leeds in June of 2003. The conference was hosted by the Department of Classics and coordinated by Dr Elizabeth Pender. She was assisted by Dr Sara Rubinelli (University of Lugano) and Mrs Caroline Goulden, who served as conference administrator. Generous financial support was given by the British Academy (in the form of a Major Conference Award) and by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

W. W. Fortenbaugh
Series Editor

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Heracliides Ponticus
The Sources, Text and Translation

Eckart Schütrumpf, Susan Prince,
Peter Stork, Johannes M. van Ophuijsen

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INTRODUCTION

Heraclides is called Ponticus after the city of Heraclea on the shore of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) where he was born ca. 388 B.C. At some time around 368 B.C., he left Heraclea for Athens where he studied with Plato – he is listed among his students (**2**; **3**; **6**; **7**; **9**). Plato entrusted the leadership of the Academy to him when he was away on his journey to Sicily in 361 B.C. (**3**). Diogenes Laertius associates Heraclides as well with Speusippus, with the Pythagoreans, and with Aristotle (**1**). When in 339 B.C., after the death of Speusippus, Heraclides lost the vote which decided the succession of leadership in the Academy, he returned to his native Heraclea where he probably lived for another 25 years.

Diogenes Laertius presents in his *Life of Heraclides* a list of works written by this philosopher (**1**), a list which, however, is incomplete (see **17**). On the other hand, there must have been quite early a debate whether he was actually the author of all the works found in that list. Already before the time of Plutarch, some men questioned whether Heraclides wrote the work *On the Things in the Underworld* (**80**). Matters regarding the authorship of texts attributed to Heraclides are complicated by the fact that this name was common. Diogenes Laertius ends his *Life of Heraclides* (**1**) with a list of thirteen more *authors* of the same name. The first of them carries the same geographic designation "Ponticus," and scholars have expressed doubts whether some fragments ascribed to our Heraclides were not really the work of that *Heraclides Ponticus the younger* (see T [= the upper *apparatus testimoniorum*] to **144** l.10–11). And the interests of another Heraclides, with the nickname Lembus, overlap with those of *Heraclides Ponticus the older* which led to at least one attribution of a text to the latter which can be shown to be wrong (see below REIECTA 3, cf. **29** n. 6). Furthermore, a text, whose author is not identified, has been attributed by scholars to Heraclides Ponticus because he seems the most likely person to have written a dialogue on the subject found there (see **155**). With few exceptions (**26B**; the texts referring to Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2) only texts in which Heraclides is named are included in this collection.

In any edition of fragments the question arises, how much of the wider context, in which a text referring to the author in question appears, should be printed. The present editor of the fragments, i.e.,

the Greek and Latin texts appearing in this volume, Eckart Schütrumpf, has adopted as a rule the practice of not going far beyond the immediate passage referring to Heraclides.

The present collection of sources referring to the life and writings of Heraclides Ponticus differs from that produced by Fritz Wehrli (*SdA* vol. 7, 2nd ed. 1969) in that several texts included by Wehrli are not accepted here (see below REIECTA 1.–3.), while others included here cannot be found in Wehrli. The present edition differs from Wehrli in two more respects. First, Wehrli printed most of the fragments under a title found either in the text itself, or if the source did not identify the work it belonged to, Wehrli, as his predecessor O. Voss (1896) had done, assigned it to a known work on the basis of speculations about its content. This is a risky approach. Who would have assumed that Heraclides reported (or invented) a conversation between Pythagoras and the tyrant Leon of Sicyon about the first use of the term 'philosopher' in the work *On the Woman Not Breathing* (**84**)? The present edition prefers to present fragments belonging to a common theme under a heading which announces this theme. This heading is then followed by a list of those works which deal with that particular issue. And second, while Wehrli broke up continuous texts and treated small portions of them as different fragments under different headings, in this edition the original texts are preserved in their entirety.

1 contains the complete *Life of Heraclides* as found in Diogenes Laertius, followed (**2**–**16**) by sources referring to Heraclides' life. **17** provides a complete list of references to the writings by Heraclides that are quoted with a title. This comprehensive list shows not only that the list found in Diogenes Laertius (**1**) is incomplete, but also that some titles for the same work appear at times in different forms. **18**–**21** contain sources that refer to his writings in general, without mentioning any views he developed, and to his influence. The section **22**–**145** is the main part of this edition; it contains the collection of texts attributed to Heraclides which deal with specific issues of his philosophic activity. The order in which these texts are presented follows the order of the main categories as distinguished in the list of Heraclides' writings in Diogenes Laertius (**1**). **146**–**55** present texts whose attribution to Heraclides is doubtful. There follows a section REIECTA listing four texts that are often attributed to Heraclides but are excluded in the present edition.

An advanced draft of the collection of sources was reviewed in its entirety by Tiziano Dorandi and Peter Stork. The former provided valuable assistance by referring to more recently published editions of sources and testimonia printed in this collection. The latter read the collection with a keen eye and discovered errors, inconsistencies and other matters that needed improvement. Both are owed special thanks.

A first draft of the translation, at that time still on the basis of Wehrli's edition, was provided by Susan Prince. This draft was reworked by Peter Stork and Jan M. van Ophuijsen. Bill Fortenbaugh was a constant source of advice both for the edition and the translation. His good judgment and enormous experience vastly improved the final form of this volume.

The footnotes to the translation were in the majority (ca. 90 percent) prepared by Schütrumpf. They were reviewed and complemented by Stork. Schütrumpf compiled the bibliography of editions used, the concordance of editions of Heraclides Ponticus, the index of sources, and the index of authors, anonymous papyri, and speakers within texts. Such a new mode of reference in chronological order seemed desirable since it provides information not revealed in the index of sources, that is, it informs the reader who actually was the ancient authority quoted in the sources. At the same time it allows one to see during which periods Heraclides Ponticus was, if not read, at least quoted. Stork compiled the index of names and places.

Daniel Delattre, who is preparing an edition of Philodemus *De Musica* (to appear in the Collection Budé, Les Belles Lettres), provided an advance copy of two passages from *PHerc*. 1497 (**115A**,**B**) for use in the present edition. We would like to thank Delattre for his generosity. This edition also benefited from communications with Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Dieter Harlfinger, Noel Lenski, Richard Kannicht, Lutz Koch, Wolfgang Rösler, and Bernd Seidensticker. An undergraduate student from the University of Colorado at Boulder, Matt Swoveland, downloaded the Greek texts which then could be adapted to the needs of the new edition.

The Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung provided funding that enabled Eckart Schütrumpf to do research in Berlin during the summer of 2006 and spring of 2007.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. General

a.	ante
add.	addidit
adn.	adnotatio, note
ad loc.	ad locum
alt.	alter(a)
ap.	apud
cap.	caput
cf.; cp.	confer
cod.	codex
codd.	codices, codicum
col.	column(a)
coll.	collato, collatis
comment.	commentarium, commentarius
corr.	correxit
del.	delevit
ibid.	ibidem
id.	idem
fl.	floruit
fort.	fortasse
fr.	fragment(um)
l.	line(a)
l.l.	locus laudatus
m.	manus
mg.	margo./marginal
om.	omisit; omittitur; omittuntur
p.	pagina
post.	posterior
propos.	proposuit
rell.	reliqui, reliquae
schol.	scholion
sec.	secundum
sim.	simile, similia
sqq.	sequentes
ss.	superscriptum
Suppl.	Supplement(um)
s.v.	sub voce
T	Testimonium
T.	Teil
t.	tomus

tit.	titulus
v.	versus
vid.	vide
vol.	volumen
vulg.	vulgata

B. Collections, Monographs, Periodicals

AbhBerlin	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
Bernays, *GesAbh*	J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* ed. H. Usener, 2 vols., Berlin 1885
BPhW	*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1881–
BT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig-Stuttgart
Burstein	St. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, Berkeley 1976
CAG	*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 18 vols., Berlin 1883–1909
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge ^{3}1970–
CGrF	C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta*, Berlin 1973
CPF	*Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini*, Florence
CPG	E.L. v. Leutsch-F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, Paroemiographi Graeci*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1839, 1851
Daebritz	R. Daebritz, Herakleides no. 42, *RE* VIII 1, 1913, col. 472–82
Davies, *APF*	J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971
DG	H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin 1879
DK	H. Diels-W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols., Zürich ^{12}1966
Döring	K. Döring, *Die Megariker. Kommentierte Sammlung der Testimonien*, Studien zur antiken Philosophie Bd. 2, Amsterdam 1972
Düring	I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition*, Göteborg 1957 (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 5)
DPhA	R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 4 vols. (A-Ovidius), Paris 1989–2005

FHS&G	W.W. Fortenbaugh-P.M.Huby-R.W.Sharples & D. Gutas, *Theophrastus of Eresus. Sources for his life, writings, thought and influence*, 2 vols., Leiden 1992
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 8 vols., Leiden 1926–1958
FHG	K. (et Th.) Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, auxerunt, notis et prolegomenis illustraverunt, 5 vols., Paris 1841–1870
Hammerstaedt	J. Hammerstaedt, *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus*, Frankfurt 1988
GG	A. Hilgard, A. Lentz, G. Uhlig et al., *Grammatici Graeci*, Leipzig 1883–1901 (repr. 1965)
GGM	K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, 2 vols., Paris 1855-1861
Giannattasio	R. Giannattasio Andria, *I frammenti delle «Successioni dei filosofi»*, Naples 1989
Gigante	M. Gigante, *Diogene Laerzio, Vite dei Filosofi*, 2 vols., Roma-Bari 1976
GLK	H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols., Leipzig 1857–1870
Gottschalk	H.B. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus*, Oxford 1980
Hermes	*Hermes*. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, 1866–
Hirzel 1895	R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch*, 2 Teile, Leipzig 1895
IEG	M.L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, 2 vols., Oxford ^{2}1989/1992
MPG	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus,* Series Graeca, 161 vols., Paris 1857–1866
Lévy 1926	I. Lévy, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore*, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études fasc. 42, Paris 1926
LG	*Lexicographi Graeci*. Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare, Berlin, De Gruyter
LGPN	P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews et al., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 4 vols., Oxford 1987–2005
Miller 1868	E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868
N^2	A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* rec., Leipzig ^{2}1889
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis), Oxford
PA	J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols., Berlin 1901–1903

PAA	J.S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, Toronto 1994–
Parke-Wormell	H.W. Parke-D.E.Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vols., Oxford 1956
PCG	R. Kassel-C.Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 vols., Berlin 1983–2001
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, 2 vols., Oxford 1949/1953
PHerc.	Papyri Herculanenses
PMG	D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962
P.Oxyrh.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al., London 1898–
PP	*La Parola del Passato*. Rivista di studi Classici, 1946-
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1. Reihe 47 Halbbände; 2. Reihe 19 Halbbände; 15 Supplementbände; Stuttgart 1893–1978
Reiske	H. Diels, *Reiskii animadversiones in Laertium Diogenem*, *Hermes* 24 (1889), 302–25
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1842–
Richards *CR* 18 (1904)	H. Richards, *Laertiana, CR* 18 (1904), 340–46
Rohde	E. Rohde, *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 2 vols., Freiburg, Leipzig ^{2}1898 (repr. Darmstadt 1991)
Rose^2	Valentin Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig 1863
Rose^3	Valentin Rose, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Berlin 1886 (repr. Stuttgart 1966)
RUSCH	W.W. Fortenbaugh (ed.), *Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities*, New Brunswick-London (Transaction), Demetrius of Phalerum, vol. 9, 2000; Dicaearchus of Messana, vol. 10, 2001; Lyco of Troas and Hieronymus of Rhodes, vol. 12, 2003
Schrader, *Philologus* 44, 1885	H. Schrader, *Heraclidea. Ein beitrag zur beurtheilung der schriftstellerischen thätigkeit des (älteren) Pontikers Herakleides und des Herakleides Lembos, Philologus* 44 (1885) 236–61
Schütrumpf-Gehrke	E. Schütrumpf-H.-J. Gehrke, *Aristoteles Politik Buch IV–VI,* übersetzt und eingeleitet, in: Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung Bd. 9, Teil III, Berlin-Darmstadt 1996

Schütrumpf, vol. 4	E. Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles Politik Buch VII–VIII*, übersetzt und erläutert, in: Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung Bd. 9, Teil IV, Berlin – Darmstadt 2005
E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 44 (1909)	E. Schwartz, *Die Zeit des Ephoros, Hermes* 44 (1909), 481–502
SdA	F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, 10 vols., Basel ^{2}1967–1969: Aristoxenos, Heft II; Klearchus, Heft III; Lykon und Ariston von Keos, Heft VI; Herakleides Pontikos, Heft VII; Phainias von Eresos. Chamaileon. Praxiphanes, Heft IX; Hieronymos von Rhodos. Kritolaos und seine Schüler, Heft X; Hermippos der Kallimacheer, Suppl. Bd. 1; Sotion, Suppl. Bd. 2
SFOD	P. Stork, W.W. Fortenbaugh, T. Dorandi, J. van Ophuijsen, Lyco of Troas, in: W.W. Fortenbaugh-S. A. White (eds.), *Lyco of Troas and Hieronymus of Rhodes: Text, Translation, and Discussion, RUSCH* vol. XII, pp. 1–78, 2003
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker, Berlin
F. Susemihl, *BPhW* 1898	F. Susemihl, *BPhW* 26. Februar 1898, 18. Jahrg., No 9, pp. 257–68 (review of Voss)
SVF	I. ab (H. von) Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1903–1905
TrGF	B. Snell – R. Kannicht – St. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols., Göttingen 1971–2004 (vol. 1, ^{2}1986)
Voss	O. Voss, *De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis*, Phil. Diss., Rostock 1896
Us.	H. Usener, *Epicurea*, Leipzig 1887 (repr. 1966)
Welcker	F.G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet, RhM* 2. Suppl. Bd. 3. Abt., Bonn 1841
Wehrli, W	F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, Heft VII, Herakleides Pontikos, Basel ^{2}1969
Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*	U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2 vols. Berlin 1931–1932 (^{5}1959)

EDITIONS

Ael.	M.R. Dilts, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia*, Leipzig 1974 (BT)
Alex. Aphr.	M. Wallies, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria, CAG* vol. 2, pars 2, Berlin 1891
Anecd. Bekk.	I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1, Lexica Segueriana, Berlin 1814 (repr. Graz 1965)
Anonym.	
in Arist. Eth. Nic.	G. Heylbut, *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in Ethica Nicomachea Commentaria, CAG* vol. 20, Berlin 1892
Vitae Hom. et Hes.	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi,* in usum scholarum, Bonn 1916 (repr. 1929)
Antig. Caryst.	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos,* Berlin 1881 (Philol. Untersuchungen H. 4)
	O. Musso, *[Antigonus Carystius], Rerum Mirabilium Collectio*, Naples 1985
Antim.	V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon. Text and Commentary*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 155, Leiden 1996
Apollodor.	F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik. Eine Sammlung der Fragmente*, Philol. Untersuchungen H. 16, Berlin 1902
Aristeas	J.D.P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford 1962
Aristocl.	M.L. Chiesara, *Aristocles of Messene. Testimonia and Fragments*, edited with Translation and commentary, Oxford 2001
Aristo Ceus	vid. Lyco
Ar. Byz.	W.J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta*, post A. Nauck collegit, testimoniis ornavit, brevi commentario instruxit, Berlin 1986 (*SGLG* Bd. 6)
Arist.	Valentin Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig 1863 (repr. 1971) (= R^2)
	Valentin Rose, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum Fragmenta,* Berlin 1886 (repr. Stuttgart 1966) (= R^3)
	I. Düring, *Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition,* Göteborg 1957 (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 5)
Aristox.	F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar, Aristoxenos*, Heft 2, Basel ^{2}1967
Ath.	G. Kaibel, *Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum Libri XV,* 3 vols., Leipzig 1887–1890 (BT)

S.P. Peppink, *Athenaei Deipnosophistae*, vol. 1, *Observationes in Athenaei Deipnosophistas*; vol. 2, *Athenaei Dipnosophistarum epitome*, libri III–VIII; vol. 3, libri IX–XV, Leiden 1936–1939

Calcid. — J.H. Waszink-P.J. Jensen, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi, Plato Latinus vol. IV, London-Leiden ^{2}1975

Callim. — R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, 2 vols., Oxford 1949/1953 (Pf.)

CGrF — C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta*, Berlin 1973

Chamael. — D. Giordano, *Chamaeleontis Heracleotae fragmenta. Iteratis curis commentarioque instruxit*, Bologna ^{2}1990

F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar,* Heft 9, Phainias von Eresos. Chamaileon. Praxiphanes, Basel ^{2}1969

Cic. — R. Giomini, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia,* fasc. 46, *De divinatione, De fato, Timaeus*, Stuttgart 1975 (BT)

O. Plasberg-W. Ax, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 45, *De natura deorum*, Stuttgart ^{2}1933 (repr. 1964) (BT)

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Conspectus Signorum

<α>	littera ab editore addita/suppleta
[α]	littera ab editore expuncta
† †	locus nondum sanatus
***	spatium vacuum
⌜ ⌝ ⌞ ⌟	littera apographi (Neapolitani vel Oxoniensis) ab editore mutata
α̣	littera in papyro mutila vel dubia
⟦α⟧	littera in papyro a librario expuncta
\`α´	littera in papyro super lineam scripta
[..]	litterae in papyro deperditae
. . .	reliquiae litterarum in papyro
[. . .] [−−−]	lacuna in papyro ubi litterarum deperditarum numerus definiri non potest
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{α}	littera in papyro ab editore expuncta ⁜⁜

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I. VITA

1 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86–94 (BT t.1, p.368.3–374.15 Marcovich)

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

86 3 W Ἡρακλείδης Εὐθύφρονος Ἡρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου, ἀνὴρ πλούσιος. Ἀθήνησι δὲ παρέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν Σπευσίππῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων διήκουσε καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐζηλώκει· καὶ ὕστερον ἤκουσεν Ἀριστοτέλους, ὥς φησι Σωτίων ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρῆτο καὶ

2–8 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.10–13 Marcovich)* Ἡρακλείδης ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου ἐσθῆτί τε μαλακῇ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι. 2–6 *Sotion SdA (Suppl. t.2) fr. 17* 3–4 *Speus. T 36 Tarán* 4–5 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid.* **2**; **3**; **6**; **7**; **9**; **30**; **72**; **85**; **117A**

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1 *tit.* P^2F^2 *in mg (v.2* ἡρακλείδης *omisso)* 4 πυθαγορίων *B* 4 –5 τῶν Πυθαγορείων - ἐζηλώκει *postea inserta esse suspicatur Schwartz, Hermes 44 (1909), 481 adn. 1, cf. Voss p.12–3* 6 τε *om. F*

I. LIFE

1 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86–94 (*BT* v.1, p.368.3–374.15 Marcovich)

HERACLIDES

86 Heraclides son of Euthyphron[1] (was) a citizen of Heraclea on (the coast of) the Black Sea (Pontus[2]): he was a wealthy man. In Athens he first attached himself to Speusippus,[3] but he also attended lectures by the Pythagoreans and had zealously embraced (the teaching of) Plato. And later he heard Aristotle lecture,[4] as Sotion[5] says in (the) *Successions*. He wore soft

[1] According to **3** he was the son of Euphron. However, the name Euthyphron found here is given by Hermippus as well (below §91) and is supported by **4**: Heraclides' son had the name Euthyphron, like his grandfather, as was ancient Greek custom.

[2] "Of Heraclea on (the coast of) the Black Sea" is in Greek Ἡρακλεώτης τοῦ Πόντου. Hicks (1925) translates: "born at Heraclea in the Pontus." But Heraclea was situated in the region of Bithynia. A kingdom 'Pontus' was established by the Macedonians (Strabo 12.1.4; 3.1) and gained influence through Mithridates Ktistes ('The Founder') in the early 3rd century B.C. 'Pontus' must here mean "Black Sea"; correctly Jacoby, *FGrH* Dritter Teil, p. 325, XXIV: "Herakleia am Pontus," cp. Chr. M. Danoff, "Pontos Euxeinos," *RE* Suppl. IX (1962) 951; 954.

[3] Speusippus, *ca*. 407–339 B.C., was an Athenian philosopher, a member of Plato's Academy and successor of Plato as head of the Academy in the years 347–339 B.C. The statement that Heraclides was first a student of Speusippus, and not of Plato, is best explained by the fact that Heraclides arrived in Athens when Plato was away for his second journey to Sicily (367/6), see Susemihl, *BPhW* 18, 1898, 258. The fragments of Speusippus' writings are collected in L. Tarán, *Speusippos of Athens. A critical study with a collection of the related texts and commentary*, Leiden 1981 (= Philosophia Antiqua, 39).

[4] Since Heraclides Ponticus left Athens after the death of Speusippus (**10**) when Aristotle was no longer living in Athens, Sotion must have referred to lectures of Aristotle while he was still a member of the Academy, see U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin 1893, vol. 1, p. 341; Wehrli, *SdA* Suppl. vol. 2, p. 50. The place of the *Life of Heraclides Ponticus* in Diog. Laert. book 5, which contains the lives of members of the Peripatos, shows that the affiliation of Heraclides Ponticus with the Peripatos was part of the tradition, cp. Wehrli p. 61. In **79**, Heraclides is mentioned in a list of Peripatetics after Aristotle and Theophrastus, cp. **106**. However, according to

ὑπέρογκος ἦν τὸ σῶμα, ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν μὴ Ποντικὸν ἀλλὰ Πομπικὸν καλεῖσθαι. πρᾶός τε ἦν τὸ βά-
22 W δισμα καὶ σεμνός. φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα· † διάλογοι †, ὧν

ἠθικὰ μὲν

48-51 W Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ′
52 W ἓν δὲ Περὶ σωφροσύνης
46-7 W Περί τε εὐσεβείας α′
53 W καὶ Περὶ ἀνδρείας α′
87 54 W κοινῶς τε Περὶ ἀρετῆς α′
44 W καὶ ἄλλο Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α′
144-5 W Περί τε ἀρχῆς α′
146-50 W καὶ Νόμων α′ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις
164 W Περὶ ὀνομάτων α′
151 W Συνθῆκαι α′
63 W Ἀκούσιος α′

7 σῶμα *BPFΦ* : σχῆμα *Hemsterhuis* 8–9 βάδισμα *BPF, fort. recte, cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. 5.8, 1125a12–3 de motu viri magnanimi* : βλέμμα *Cobet Wehrli - an* καὶ *ante* τὸ βάδισμα *transferendum?* 10 *ante* ἄριστα *addunt* τά τε BP^1 : *expunxit* P^2 † † *indicavi* : διάλογοι *del. Hirzel 1895, T.1, p.322 adn.1* : καὶ *ante* διάλογοι *add. Schrader, Philologus 44 (1885), 239 adn. 7* : συγγράμματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ <πλεῖστα>· τά τε ἄριστα διάλογοι *Voss p.20 - an aliquid post* διάλογοι *excidit? De tabula titulorum perturbata et mutilata vid. Wehrli p.65* 14 περί τ' εὐσεβείας ε′ *Cobet (Wehrli fr. 46, p.19, sed* α′ *ibid. fr. 22), at vid. infra v. 66* τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας 15 ἀνδρίας *P* 17 *post* ἄλλο *distinxerunt Cobet Long* 18 τε *BPF* : τῆς *Huebner (e Menagiana), Cobet, at vid. Diog. Laert. 1.94 (=* **28***)* ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς 19 α′ *post* τούτοις *transtulit Marcovich* καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις *additamentum ad duo libros sequentes esse putat Voss p.29 adn. 1*

clothing and his figure was excessively large, with the result that the inhabitants of Attica called him not Ponticus but Pompicus (Pompous). He was both gentle in his gait and dignified. There are in circulation writings of his of the greatest beauty and highest quality. (There are) †dialogues†, of which

ethical (writings[6] are)

On Justice, three books = **17** (1)
and one *On Self-control* = **17** (2)
and *On Piety*, one book = **17** (3)
and *On Courage*, one book = **17** (4)
87 and *On Virtue* in general,[7] one book = **17** (5)
and another *On Happiness*, one book = **17** (6)
On Governance, one book = **17** (6)
and one book of *Laws* = **17** (8a) and of related subjects
On Names, one book = **17** (9)
Contracts, one book = **17** (10)
Involuntary, one book = **17** (11)

Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 46 (cp. p. 329 n. 14), this was a mistake of Diog. Laert. The *Life of Heraclides* should have found its place in book 4. See, however, Voss p. 13.

[5] Sotion was the author of an influential work on the Successions of Philosophers (Διαδοχαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων) in at least 23 books (Diog. Laert. 1.1; 7), written between 200 and 170 B.C.

[6] The grammatical gender of "ethical" (ἠθικά) agrees with "writings" (συγγράμματα), not with preceding "dialogues" (διάλογοι). "Dialogues" is either an interpolation, or something is missing in this list (cp. the conjectures of Schrader and Voss). This assumption is the more likely since the titles "*Expositions of Heraclitus,* four books" [below §88 = **17** (41)] and "*Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book" [below §88 = **17** (42)] are listed under the heading "musical" to which they hardly belong.

[7] By capitalizing "In general" (Κοινῶς) and writing περὶ in lower case, Marcovich (*BT* p.368.19) understands "in general" as part of a title *Generally on Virtue*, not as the description of the content of the work by the compiler of the list as is clearly the case with "in a separate treatise" below = **17** (16); Voss p. 29; see next note. Particularly at the beginning of the catalogue it is obvious that the compiler attempts more than just listing titles in a schematic way. He attempts stylistic variety (cp. ἓν δὲ Περὶ σωφροσύνης after Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γʹ), he uses connecting particles, again applying variety (δέ; καί; τε, no longer found after l. 29). Only here there are comments added concerning the contents of individual works (συγγενῶν, l. 19) or the relationship to other works in the list (καὶ ἄλλο, l. 17; καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν l. 27, see next note). The word "in general" (κοινῶς) understood as an addition by the compiler of the list is in character with similar features the list exhibits at its beginning.

62, 64-6 W Ἐρωτικὸς ἢ Κλεινίας α΄,
φυσικὰ δὲ
43 W Περὶ νοῦ
90 - Περὶ ψυχῆς
103 W καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν Περὶ ψυχῆς
118 - καὶ Περὶ φύσεως
123 W καὶ Περὶ εἰδώλων
36 W Πρὸς Δημόκριτον
104-17 W Περὶ τῶν <ἐν> οὐρανῷ α΄
71-2 W Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου
45 W Περὶ βίων α΄ β΄
76-89 W Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α΄
42 W Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α΄
34 W Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α΄
35 W Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α΄,
γραμματικὰ δὲ
176-7 W Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α΄ β΄
178 W Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α΄ β΄,
καὶ μουσικὰ δὲ
180 W Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α΄ β΄ γ΄
157 W Περὶ μουσικῆς α΄ β΄
88 171 W Λύσεων Ὁμηρικῶν α΄ β΄
28 W Θεωρηματικὸν α΄
179 W Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α΄
165 W Χαρακτῆρες α΄
166 W Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α΄
31 W Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α΄
142 W Προοπτικῶν α΄

46 *I.e. Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, cf. Satyr. T 3a (p. 79) Schorn* Σατύρου Βίων ἀναγ<ρ>αφῆς ϛ΄ Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου; *Dion. Hal. De imitat. 2.6.10; Cic. De orat. 3.7.27*

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23 α΄ *post* Ἐρωτικὸς *inseruit Marcovich, distinguens* Κλεινίας α΄ *titulum sui iuris*   ἢ *Gigante 1976, t.2, p.521 adn. 188* : καὶ *BPF*   25–6 Περὶ νοῦ <καὶ> περὶ ψυχῆς, *Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 313, cf. Voss pp.30–1*   30 *Post* Δημόκριτον *distinxerunt Huebner Marcovich* : *30–1 unus titulus in BPF, at cf. titulum infra v. 32 =* **17** *(22)* Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου   31 τῶν <ἐν> οὐρανῷ *Stephanus* : τῶν οὐρανῶν *BPF*   33 α΄ *om. F*   36 *et* 37 τὰ *Stephanus* : τὸ *BPF*   37 α΄ *F* : *om. BP*   39 *et* 40 α΄ *om. F*   41 *om. F*   43 γ΄ *add. Meursius* ⇢

(Dialogue) concerning Love or Clinias, one book = **17** (12)
and (writings) on physics (are)
On Mind = **17** (14)
On Soul = **17** (15)
and *On Soul* in a separate treatise[8] = **17** (16)
and *On Nature* = **17** (17)
and *On Images* = **17** (19)
In Reply to Democritus **17** (20)
On the Things <in> Heaven, one book = **17** (21)
On the Things in the Underworld = **17** (22)
On Lives, books 1, 2 = **17** (23)
Causes relating to Diseases, one book = **17** (24a)
On the Good, one book = **17** (25)
In Reply to the (doctrines) of Zeno, one book = **17** (26)
In Reply to the (doctrines) of Metron,[9] one book = **17** (27)
and grammatical (writings are)
On the Age of Homer and Hesiod, books 1, 2 = **17** (28)
On Archilochus and Homer, books 1, 2 = **17** (29)
and musical (writings are)
On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles, books 1, 2, 3 = **17** (31)
On Music, books 1, 2 = **17** (33a)
88 *Solutions to Homeric (Questions)*, books 1, 2 = **17** (34)
Theoretic, one book = **17** (35)
On the Three Tragic Poets, one book = **17** (36)
Characters, one book = **17** (37)
On Poetics and the Poets, one book = **17** (38)
On Conjecture, one book = **17** (39)
Foreseeings, one book = **17** (40)

[8] "In a separate treatise" (καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν), see previous note. For the form of distinction of two works by the same author on a related subject, cp. Cic. *De leg*. 2.14: "Plato, qui princeps de re publica conscripsit idemque *separatim* de legibus eius."

[9] Metron is otherwise unknown, see Wehrli p. 69.

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coll. Ath. 10.82 455C (= **113***) et 14.19 624C (=* **114***)* 43 *et* 44 α′ *om. F* 45 θεωρηματικῶν *F* 46 τριῶν *om. F* 47 χαρακτῆρες *P* : χαρακτὴρ *BF* 48 τῶν *ss. F*² 50 προοπτικῶν *BP* : προοπτικὸν *F Cobet*

39 W Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δʹ
37 W Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις αʹ
32 W Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν αʹ βʹ
30 W Ἀξίωμα αʹ
29 W Περὶ εἰδῶν αʹ
118-23 W Λύσεις αʹ
67 W Ὑποθῆκαι αʹ
38 W Πρὸς Διονύσιον αʹ,
ῥητορικὰ δὲ
33 W Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας.
ἱστορικά·
40-1 W Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων
152 W καὶ Περὶ εὑρημάτων.

22 W τούτων τὰ μὲν κωμικῶς πέπλακεν, ὡς τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Περὶ σωφροσύνης· τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὡς τὸ Περὶ 62,I W τῶν καθ᾽ Ἅιδην καὶ τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἐξουσίας.

89 25 W ἔστι δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ μεσότης τις ὁμιλητικὴ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικά. ἄλλως τε ἐν ἅπασι ποικίλος τε καὶ διηρμένος τὴν λέξιν ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν ἱκανῶς δυνάμενος.

11 W δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης

55 *Cf. eandem inscriptionem operis Theophrasti fr. 1 v.100 FHS&G* 73–84; 90 *Demetr. Magn. fr. 18 Mejer, Hermes 109 (1981) 463* 73–90 *Hippobot. fr. 7 Gigante*

52 Πρὸς τὸν *editio Frobeniana*: πρὸς *D*: πρῶτον *BP*: πρώτων *F* δημοκριτίων *F* 53 αʹ *om. F* 54 *om. F* 61 *om. F* 62 τῶν *om. P et editio Frobeniana* 65 τὸ *ante* περὶ σωφροσύνης *add. Voss p.21* 65–6 περὶ τὸν καθάδην *B* 70 ἔστιν *scripsi*: ἐστιν *editores*

Expositions of Heraclitus, four books[10] = **17** (41)
Expositions in Reply to Democritus, one book = **17** (42)
Solutions to Eristic (Arguments), books 1, 2 = **17** (43)
Axiom, one book = **17** (44)
On Forms, one book = **17** (45)
Solutions, one book = **17** (46)
Instructions, one book = **17** (47)
In Reply to Dionysius, one book = **17** (48)
and rhetorical (writings are)
On Public Speaking or Protagoras = **17** (49)
historical (writings are)
On the Pythagoreans = **17** (50)
and *On Discoveries* = **17** (51)

Of these writings he has composed some in a comic manner, such as the one *On Pleasure* [= **17** (13)] and (the one) *On Self-control* [= **17** (2)], and others in a tragic manner, such as the one *On the Things in the Underworld* [= **17** (22)] and the one *On Piety* [= **17** (3)] and the one *On Power* [= **17** (52)].

89 He has as well a certain middle style of conversation, representing philosophers and generals and statesmen in discussion with each other. But there are also writings on geometry from him and dialectical writings. And otherwise in all his writings he is varied and lofty in his style and sufficiently able to capture the mind.

He (Heraclides) is believed to have liberated his country from tyranny by killing the monarch,[11] as Demetrius of Magnesia[12]

[10] For this and the following title, see above n. 6.

[11] This act of tyrannicide is falsely attributed to Heraclides Ponticus. Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea, was killed in 352 B.C. by a student of Plato, Chion of Heraclea (Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc.* 1021 col. VI, ed. Dorandi 1991, p.135), and others (cp. *RE* XI 1, 578; Burstein p. 64 with n. 126; 127 on p. 134), without the involvement of Heraclides Ponticus. The account by Demetrius of Magnesia must contain a confusion with Heraclides of Ainos (Daebritz *RE* VIII 1, 473), a student of Plato as well (Diog. Laert. 3.46 = **6**), who, together with his brother Python, murdered the king of the Odryses, Cotys I, in 359 B.C. See Arist. *Pol.* 5.10, 1311b20–2 with Schütrumpf-Gehrke, note on 1311b20; Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 32 1126C; K. Trampedach, *Platon. Die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik*, *Hermes EZ* 66, Stuttgart 1994, 90–2.

[12] Demetrius of Magnesia, 1st century B.C., friend of Atticus, wrote on *Cit-*

16 W ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις. ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα· ἐπεὶ <δὲ> τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, κελεῦσαί τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὑτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα
90 δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβεβηκέναι. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων τὸν Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ’ οἷος ἦν.

καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·

ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη,
ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων.
ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θὴρ
ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θήρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὢν ἑάλως.

ταῦτα δέ φησι καὶ Ἱππόβοτος.

75–84 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.13–21 Marcovich)* οὗτος ἔθρεψε δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα· ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλεν, ἐκέλευσέ τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὑτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, κτλ. *ad* οἷος ἦν *sine mutatione verborum.– 259.13* αὐξηθέντα *BPF* : αὐξηθέντος *Marcovich, falso, vid. app. crit. ad v. 76* 86–8-9 *= Anth. Pal. 7.114*

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76 αὐξηθέντος *Φ* ἐπειδὴ *codd.* : ἐπεὶ δὲ *vel* ἐπειδὴ δὲ *conieci* 77 τινι *BPΦ* : τινα *F* αὑτοῦ *Huebner* : αὐτοῦ *BPFΦ* 79 πάντα *BPΦ Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.17 Marcovich)* : ταῦτα *F* 82 διετάραξε *BP* : ἐτάραξε *F* τοὺς πλείους *Φ* 86 ἤλυθες *Pal.*[1] 87 ἅπασι *BPF et Pal.* : ἀπαρτί *Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 313* 90 ταῦτα *BPF (cf. Diog. Laert. 9.5* τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησι) : ταὐτὰ *Wilamowitz, Antigonos von Karystos, 1881, p.46 adn. 3; Gigante (ad Hippobotum fr. 7), coll. Diog. Laert. 9.40*

says in (his) (*Authors) of the Same Name*. He (Demetrius) tells also something like this about him: he raised a snake from the time when it was young and after it had grown up, <and>[13] when he was about to die, he told one of his trusted attendants to conceal his own body and to put the snake on the bier, so that he would appear to have passed over to the company of the gods. And all these things took place. And when the citizens were in the middle of escorting him to the grave and were speaking his praise, the snake heard the shouting, came out from the funerary attire, and scared most of the crowd. Later, however, all was revealed, and Heraclides was seen not as he was thought to be, but as he was.

And we have written something for him like this:

You wanted to leave a reputation to mankind, Heraclides,
that after death you became alive to all as a snake,
but you were deceived, you subtle schemer. For, indeed, the beast
was a snake, and you were found out to be a beast, not a smart person.

And Hippobotus[14] also says these things.

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ies with the same Name (Περὶ ὁμωνύμων πόλεων) and *On Poets and Authors of the same Name* (Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων). See J. Mejer, "Demetrius of Magnesia. On poets and authors of the same name," *Hermes* 109 (1981) 447–72; *DPhA* 2 D 52.

[13] Since the snake Heraclides had raised was *young* (θρέψαι … ἐκ νέου, see Menagius; cp. about raising young animals ἐκ νέων λαμβάνοντες ὥσπερ λέοντας Plat. *Gorg*. 483E5–6), the following remark about "having grown up" must refer to the snake as well (cp. codd. Diog. Laert. *Excerpt. Byzant*., v. 2, p. 259.13 Marcovich). The particle καὶ connects, therefore, only these statements about the age of the snake. A particle is needed that connects the two infinitives θρέψαι and κελεῦσαι, see *app. crit*.

[14] Hippobotus, late 3rd century B.C., historian of philosophy, wrote *On the Schools of Philosophy* and *List of Philosophers*. The fragments are collected in M. Gigante, "Frammenti di Ippoboto. Contributo alla storia della storiografia filosofica," in: A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Omaggio a Piero Treves*, Università di Venezia, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Padova 1983; cp. *DPhA* 3 H 148.

91 14a W Ἕρμιππος δὲ λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν φησὶν αἰτεῖν
τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας τὴν Πυθίαν λύσιν. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλεί-
δην διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τούς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τὴν προειρη-
μένην, ὥστ' ἀνελεῖν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, εἰ ζῶν
μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Εὐθύφρονος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφα-
νωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῷτο.
ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὤναντο οἱ πλάσαν-
τες αὐτόν. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ὁ
Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἵ τε θεωροὶ καταλευ-
σθέντες διεφθάρησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν
κατιοῦσα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ἐπιστᾶσα ἑνὶ τῶν δρακόντων
δηχθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν θά-
νατον αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

92 181 W φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐ-
176 W τὸν ποιεῖν καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν. Χαμαιλέων τε
τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῷ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ
48 W Ὁμήρου γράψαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀντίδωρος <ὁ> Ἐπικούρειος
13a W ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς Περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων. ἔτι καὶ

91–102 *Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.259.22–260.5 Marcovich)* Τινὲς δέ φασιν ὡς λιμοῦ τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας κατασχόντος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης χρήμασι διαφθείρας τήν τε Πυθίαν καὶ τοὺς θεωροὺς ἔπεισεν εἰπεῖν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, εἰ ζῶν μὲν Ἡρακλείδης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῷτο. ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὤναντο οἱ πλάσαντες αὐτόν, κτλ. *ad* ἀπέπνευσε, *solum* ἐπιστᾶσα *omisso.- 259.22–3* κατασχόντας *Marcovich, vix recte, cf. Diog. Laert.* κατασχόντος 91–103 *Hermipp. SdA (Suppl. 1) fr. 42; FGrH (IVA, fasc. 3) F 71 Bollansée* 104–5 *Aristox. SdA (t.2) fr. 114; TrGF (t.1, p.263) no. 93 ("Heraclides Ponticus?")* 105–7 *Chamael. SdA (t.9) fr. 46; fr. 47 Giordano* 106–7 *De Hesiodo et Homero, vid.* **17** *(28)* 107 *nomen Antidori corruptum arbitratur Wehrli (fr. 48 et adn. p.75), cum Antidorus, cuius in Diog. Laert. 10.8 (= Epicur. fr. 238 Us.) mentio fit, non in numero Epicureorum referatur, sed philosophus sit, contra quem Epicurus libros scripserit (Diog. Laert. 10.28 = Epicur. fr. 3, p.92.13–21 Us.). At duo philosophi eiusdem nominis existisse videntur, unus Epicureus et alter "nescio cuius sectae et ab Epicuro duobus libris impugnatus et a Colote" (Usener p.400, cf. p.93.7), vid. B.A. Müller, RE Suppl. t. III, col.120–1*

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91 λιμοῦ *PFΦ*: λοιμοῦ *B* 94 ἀνελεῖν *Richards, CR 18 (1904), 345*: ἀνειπεῖν *BPF*: εἰπεῖν *Φ* τῶν κακῶν *BPΦ*: τοῦ κακοῦ *F* 95–6 στεφανωθείη *PΦ*: στεφανωθῇ *BF* 99–100 καταλευσθέντες *Kuehn*: κατακυλισθέντες *BPFΦ* 106 ἑαυτῷ *codd.*: ἑαυτοῦ *Cobet* 107 →

91 Hermippus[15] says that when a famine seized the land, the citizens of Heraclea asked the Pythia for relief. But (according to Hermippus) Heraclides bribed both the sacred envoys and the said Pythia, so as to make her reply that they would be released from their distress if they would crown Heraclides, son of Euthyphron, with a golden crown while alive,[16] and when dead honor him as a demi-god (*hêrôs*). The (pretended) oracle was brought home, but those who forged it gained nothing. For immediately on being crowned in the theater, Heraclides was struck with paralysis, and the envoys to the oracle were stoned to death. But also the Pythia in the same hour, as she went down into the innermost shrine (*adyton*) and stepped upon one of the snakes, was bitten and breathed her last on the spot. And so much about his death.

92 Aristoxenus the musician says that he (Heraclides) also wrote tragedies and ascribed them to Thespis.[17] And Chamaeleon[18] says that Heraclides wrote his books about Hesiod and Homer after stealing the material from him. But Antidorus the Epicurean too censures him (Heraclides), disputing his (books) *On Justice*.[19] In

[15] Hermippus, of Smyrna (see **82**), 3rd century B.C., was a student of Callimachus whose work he continued. His writings focused on biographies of famous men. The fragments are collected in J. Bollansée, *Hermippos of Smyrna*, in: *FGrH* Part 4, IV A, Fasc. 3, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999; cp. *DPhA* 3 H 86.

[16] For coronation see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 38, Berlin 1982, pp. 153–61.

[17] The first scholar to argue that the few preserved lines from plays ascribed to Thespis cannot come from his tragedies but must have been written by Heraclides Ponticus was R. Bentley, "Dissertation upon Phalaris," now in: *R. Bentley, The Works*, ed. by A. Dyce (1836–1838), vol. 1, London 1836 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1971), pp. 289–96. Bentley's hypothesis, which has been rejected by some scholars, is supported by the fact that Heraclides is the only author we know of who wrote under the name of Thespis, see below **150–4**.

[18] Chamaeleon, of Heraclea on the coast of the Black Sea, was a Peripatetic philosopher and younger contemporary of Heraclides. The fragments are collected in *SdA* vol. 9 and by Giordano; cp. *DPhA* 2 C 93.

[19] Or, reading τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης: "his (views) on justice."

Ἀντίδωρος *Menagius (coll. Diog. Laert. 10.8)*: ἀντόδωρος *BPF*: Αὐτόδωρος *Stephanus (exempla nominis Antodori vel Autodori desunt, cum exempla nominis Antidori abundent, cf. LGPN t.2, p.35 et alib.)* ὁ *add. Cobet*

Διονύσιος ὁ Μεταθέμενος (ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι) γράψας
τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας
εἴς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρῆτο μαρτυρίοις ὡς Σο-
93 φοκλέους. αἰσθόμενος δὴ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ
γεγονός· τοῦ δ' ἀρνουμένου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος ἐπέστειλεν
ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε ΠΑΓΚΑΛΟΣ· οὗτος δ' ἦν
ἐρώμενος Διονυσίου. ὡς δ' ἔτι ἀπιστῶν ἔλεγε κατὰ τύχην
ἐνδέχεσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, πάλιν ἀντεπέστειλεν ὁ Διονύσιος
ὅτι 'καὶ ταῦτα εὑρήσεις·

– γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἁλίσκεται πάγῃ·
– ἁλίσκεται μέν, μετὰ χρόνον δ' ἁλίσκεται.

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις·

– Ἡρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται.'

ὁ δ' ᾐσχύνθη.

γεγόνασι δ' Ἡρακλεῖδαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· πρῶτος
αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πυρρίχας καὶ φλυα-
94 ρίας συντεταγμένος· τρίτος Κυμαῖος, γεγραφὼς Περσικὰ
ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις· τέταρτος Κυμαῖος, ῥήτωρ τέχνας γεγρα-

109–22 *cf. Diog. Laert. Excerpt. Byzant. (t.2, p.260.6–18 Marcovich)* Διονύσιος (ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι) γράψας τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης πιστεύσας, κτλ. *nullis verbis mutatis praeter ultima*: Ἡρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη. 109 *Dionysius vid.* **5**; **11**; *Epicur. fr. 402; fr. 511 (p.315.7–10) Us.; DPhA 2 D 82 (Denys d' Héraclée)* 109–12 *Dionysius TrGF (t.1, p.282) no.113* 109–22 (ᾐσχύνθη) = *Dionysius SVF (t.1) no. 425; Spintharus TrGF (t.1) no. 40 T 3* 118–19 *proverbium*: *Apostolius (CPG t.2, p.343) 5.37; 37a ("ex Diog. Laert. 5.93 petita"); Suda Γ 203 (s.v.* Γέρων πίθηκος κτλ.*) et Π 1580 (s.v.* Πίθηκος - *om.* πάγῃ*); verbo* ἀλώπηξ *pro* πίθηκος *substituto, Γ 202 (s.v.* Γέρων ἀλώπηξ κτλ.*); Zenobius Cent. 2.90 (CPG t.1, p.55), cf. Ovid. Ars amator. 1.478*: *Capta vides sero Pergama, capta tamen*

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112 δὴ *BΦ* : δὲ *Suda Π 449 (s.v.* Παραστιχίς = **11**): δ' *P* : *om. F* ὁ *om. F* 114 παγκάλως *Suda Π 449 (s.v.* Παραστιχίς = **11**) 118 *hunc versum interrogationem esse mavult Voss p.17* 121 γράμματ' *Voss p.17, Snell (TrGF t.1, p.169) trimetrum restituens* 122 ὁ δ' *Nauck² (p.840 adn.)* : οὐδ' *BPF* 124–5 φλυαρίας *codd.* : φλύακας *Wilamowitz*

yet another example, Dionysius, the defector, or Spintharus,[20] as some say, wrote the *Parthenopaeus*[21] and attributed it to Sophocles. And he (Heraclides), believing (it was genuine), used it in one of his own writings as testimony as if it were by Sophocles.[22]
93 On finding him out, Dionysius revealed to him what had happened. When Heraclides denied it and would not believe him, he told him to look at the acrostic: and this comprised (the name) PANKALOS ["All-beautiful"]: this individual was the beloved of Dionysius. When Heraclides was still unconvinced and said this could have happened by chance, Dionysius once again sent him back, saying "you will find these (lines) as well:

– An old monkey is not caught in a trap;
– Caught he is, but he is caught after a time.

And in addition to these lines:

Heraclides does not know his letters."

Then he (Heraclides) felt ashamed.

There have been fourteen men named Heraclides: first the one dealt with here; second his fellow citizen,[23] who has written war
94 dances and foolish trifles; the third of Cyme, author of a work on Persian affairs in five books;[24] the fourth of Cyme, an orator who

[20] Since Spintharus made fun of the *old* Heraclides ("an old monkey … is caught after a time"), therefore at some time in the second half of the fourth century, he cannot be the Spintharus who was vilified as a foreigner by Aristophanes, *Birds* 762 (*TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 2 — he is assumed to be the same person as the tragedian Spintharus from Heraclea Pontica, cp. *TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 1) and belonged to the second half of the fifth century (born *ca*. 445, see F. Susemihl, *RhM* 49, 1894, 475–6), see Voss p. 17; Susemihl, *BPhW* 18, 1898, 261. Kannicht (*TrGF* vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 349 note to p. 159.39 T 4) cites reasons why *TrGF* vol. I no. 40 T 4 should be removed from the testimonia for Spintharus. Hicks understands Spintharus (σπίνθαρος) as another nickname of Dionysius, *i.e.*, "the Spark."

[21] Parthenopaeus was one of the "Seven against Thebes," who tried to restore Oedipus' son Polynices as king of Thebes.

[22] A short version of the account which starts here is found in *Suda* Π (Pi) 449 = **11**.

[23] Heraclides Ponticus "the younger", 1st century A.D., grammarian, lived in Rome under Claudius and Nero, see *Suda* H (Eta) 463, v.2, p.582.1–9 (Adler); *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 49, col. 487–8.

[24] Heraclides of Cyme, probably from the mid-fourth century BC, wrote *Persica,* see *FGrH* 689 T 1, cp. 696 F 30.

φώς· πέμπτος Καλλατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὴν Διαδοχὴν ἐν ἓξ βιβλίοις καὶ Λεμβευτικὸν λόγον, ὅθεν καὶ Λέμβος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὰ Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα· ἕβδομος διαλεκτικὸς Βαργυλιήτης, κατ' Ἐπικούρου γεγραφώς· ὄγδοος ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἱκεσίου· ἔνατος ἰατρὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἐμπειρικός· δέκατος ποιητικός, παραινέσεις γεγραφώς· ἑνδέκατος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φωκαεύς· δωδέκατος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴς λιγυρός· τρισκαιδέκατος Μάγνης, Μιθραδατικὰ γεγραφώς· τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος ἀστρολογούμενα συγγεγραφώς.

126 Heraclides Cymaeus, scripsit Persica: *FGrH 689 T 1, saec. quart. a. Chr., cf. FGrH 696 F 30; RE t.VIII 1, no. 42 (col. 469–70)* 130 *De Heraclide dialectico Barguleïte, qui scripsit contra Epicurum, vid. RE t. VIII 1, no. 39 (col. 469); de controversia inter Epicurum et dialecticos existente vid. Epicur. fr. 238 Us. (= Diog. Laert. 10.8); Vit. Epicuri 24 (p.368.15–369.1 Us.); 31 (p.371.4 Us.)*

wrote works on the art (of rhetoric); fifth (Heraclides) of Callatis or Alexandria, who wrote (the work) *the Succession* in six books and a treatise titled *Lembeuticus* whence he received the nickname "Lembus";[25] sixth a man from Alexandria, who wrote on matters peculiar to Persia;[26] seventh the dialectician of Bargylia, who wrote against Epicurus; eighth a physician who belonged to the school of Hicesius;[27] ninth a physician of Tarentum,[28] of the empirical school; tenth a poet, the author of pieces of advice; eleventh a sculptor of Phocaea;[29] twelfth a brilliant poet of epigrams;[30] thirteenth a man from Magnesia,[31] who wrote a history of Mithradates; fourteenth the author of studies on astrology.

[25] Heraclides with the surname Lembus (which means: 'fast boat') was the son of Sarapion (*Suda* H (Eta) 462, v.2, p.581.25–27 Adler; Diog. Laert. 8.7) and belongs to the 2nd century B.C. He was author of an epitome of Sotion's work on *Successions of philosophers* (*ibid*., and 5.79), see above n. 5; Wehrli, *SdA* Suppl. 2, 1978, 8–14. He compiled as well excerpts of works by Hermippus and Satyrus, and of Aristotle's collection of constitutions, cp. Bollansée, *FGrH* IV A no. 1026 Comment. on T 5 (Fasc. 3, pp. 99–101), cp. *DPhA* 3 H 61. The fragments are collected in *FHG* vol. 3, p. 167–71 and M.R. Dilts, *Heraclidis Lembi Excerpta Politiarum*, Durham (NC) 1971.

[26] He wrote on matters peculiar to Persia, see *FGrH* 696 F 30 — he might be identical with Heraclides no. 3 (above n. 24), cp. *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 42, col. 470.

[27] About Heraclides the physician of the school of Hicesius nothing else is known, see *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 56, col. 496. Hicesius belonged to the first century B.C.: Strabo 12.8.20.

[28] Heraclides of Tarentum, 1st century B.C., was an important physician and commentator on Hippocrates' works, see A. Guardasole, *Eraclide di Taranto*, Napoli 1997; *DPhA* 3 H 58. See below **16**; *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 54 (col. 493–6).

[29] *RE* vol. VIII 1, no. 60, col. 497.

[30] An epigram of a certain Heraclides of Sinope is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca* 7.392, cp. perhaps by the same author no. 281 (and 465?).

[31] Of the history on Mithradates by Heraclides of Magnesia only the title survives (*FGrH* 187 T 1). He wrote probaby in the era of Sulla, see Jacoby *FGrH* 2. Teil (11 B 4), p. 614.

2 Strabo, Geographica 12.3.1 541.1–3 (t.3, p.422 Radt)

1 W προσεκτήσατο δ’ οὗτος (scil. Μιθριδάτης ὁ Εὐπάτωρ) καὶ τὴν μέχρι Ἡρακλείας παραλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ δυσμικὰ μέρη, τῆς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ πατρίδος.

3 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad* **1** *v. 4–5*

3 Suda H 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης (LG t.2, p.581.16–19 Adler)

2 W Ἡρακλείδης, Εὔφρονος, φιλόσοφος, Ἡρακλείας τῆς Πόντου, τὸ δὲ γένος ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ Δάμιδος, ἑνὸς τῶν ἡγησαμένων τῆς εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἀποικίας, Πλάτωνος γνώριμος· ἐκδημήσαντος δὲ Πλάτωνος εἰς Σικελίαν προεστάναι τῆς σχολῆς κατελείφθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

3–4 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad* **1** *v. 4–5* 4 *De Platonis absentia vid.* **147**

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1 Εὔφρονος *codd.*: Εὐθύφρονος *Diog. Laert. 5.86 (=* **1***), cf.* Εὐθύφρων *ibid. 1.107 (=* **4***)*

4 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.107 (BT t.1, p.79.13–14 Marcovich)

18 W Εὐθύφρων δ’ ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ Κρῆτά φησιν εἶναι (scil. τὸν Μύσωνα)· Ἠτείαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης.

Cf. Sosicrates fr. 9 Giannattasio; Hermippus (SdA Suppl. 1) fr. 14; FGrH 1026 (Part 4, IV A, Fasc. 3) F 19 Bollansée

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1 *Euthyphron vid. FGrH IV A fasc. 1, no. 1007 T 1 (Schepens)* 2 Μύσων Ἠτεῖος *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἦτις

5 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 7.166 (BT t.1, p.544.2–8 Marcovich)

12 W Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἡδονὴν διὰ

2 Strabo, *Geography* 12.3.1 541.1–3 (v.3, p.422 Radt)

And he (Mithridates Eupator)[1] acquired also the coastland toward the west as far as Heraclea, the native city of Heraclides, the Platonist.

[1] Mithridates Eupator, *i.e.*, Mithridates VI, 132–63 B.C.

3 *Suda* H (Eta) 461 under "Heraclides" (*LG* v.2, p.581.16–19 Adler)

Heraclides, son of Euphron, was a philosopher from Heraclea on the Black Sea (Pontus). He was descended from Damis, one of those who led the colony of Heraclea from Thebes.[1] He was a pupil of Plato, and when Plato travelled to Sicily,[2] he (Plato) left the leadership of the school to him (Heraclides).

[1] On the Boeotian influence in the settlement of Heraclea on the Pontus, see D. Asheri, "Über die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike," *Österr. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Philos.-Histor. Kl.*, Bd. 106, 1972 (pp. 9–34), 24–8.

[2] Plato's third journey to Sicily in 361 B.C.: Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 280; Leisegang *RE* XX, 2, col. 2355.

4 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.107 (*BT* v.1, p.79.13–14 Marcovich)

Euthyphron, the son of Heraclides Ponticus, says that he (Myson[1]) was a Cretan, for Eteia was a city on Crete.

[1] Myson was at times (*e.g.*, by Plato *Prot.* 343A; Hermippus *FGrH* 1026 F 19 Bollansée; Sosicrates F 8 Giannattasio Andria; Diog. Laert. 1.106–8) listed among the Seven Wise Men.

5 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 7.166 (*BT* v.1, p.544.2–8 Marcovich)

Dionysius the defector[1] declared pleasure (to be) the final

περίστασιν ὀφθαλμίας· ἀλγήσας γὰρ ἐπιπόνως ὤκνησεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.

ἦν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ' Ἡρακλείας. ἤκουσε δέ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πολίτου, ἔπειτα Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον δὲ Ζήνωνος.

1 *Dionysius = SVF (t.1) fr. 422, vid. Diog. Laert. 7.37; Heraclid. Pont.* **1** *(93);* **11** 1–4 *= Diocles Carystius: Wilamowitz, Antigonos von Karystos, 1881, p.126* 6 *Alexinus: T 81 Döring*

6 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 3.46 (BT t.1, p.220. 17–221.7 Marcovich)

4 W μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ (scil. Πλάτωνος) Σπεύσιππος Ἀθηναῖος, Ξενοκράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Φίλιππος Ὀπούντιος, Ἑστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Δίων Συρακόσιος, Ἀμύκλας Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἔραστος καὶ Κορίσκος Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός, Εὐαίων Λαμψακηνός, Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Αἴνιοι, Ἱπποθάλης καὶ Κάλλιππος Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

1 *= Speus. T 5 Tarán* 2 *Xenocrat. fr. 3 Isnardi Parente Arist.: Diog. Laert. 5.9; Dion. Hal. Ep. ad Amm. 5; deest in R*[3] 6 *Heraclides ex urbe Aeno, vid. adn. 11, ad Diog. Laert. 5.89 (=* **1***)* 7 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad* **1** *v. 4–5*

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4 Ἀμύκλας *Marcovich* : ἄμυκλος *BPF*[3]*, at vid.* **7** *(col. vi v.1–2)* 5–6 Πύθων *B*[2] *Phld. Historia philosophorum, PHerc. 1021 col. VI 15* : πείθων *PF*[3]

goal (*i.e.,* highest good) (of everything) because of a painful condition of eye-disease. For, having suffered severe pain, he hesitated to declare pain (to be) a thing indifferent.

He was the son of Theophantus, from the city of Heraclea. And he heard the lectures, as Diocles[2] claims, first of his fellow citizen Heraclides, then of Alexinus[3] and Menedemus[4] and finally of Zeno.[5]

[1] Dionysius of Heraclea, the defector (see **11**), lived during the last quarter of the 4th, and first half of the 3rd century B.C. Having fallen ill with a severe infection of the eye, he no longer subscribed to the Stoic tenet that pain belonged to the category of indifferent things; he gave up Stoicism and turned to hedonism. On Dionysius' attempts to write poetry, see Diog. Laert. 7.167.

[2] Diocles of Magnesia was a Hellenistic author of biographies of philosophers and of a compendium of their teachings; *DPhA* 2 D 115.

[3] Alexinus of Elis was a member of the Megarian school of philosophers who lived around 300 B.C. The fragments of his work are collected by K. Döring, *Die Megariker*, 1972, 73–95; *DPhA* A 125.

[4] Menedemus of Pyrrha, 4th century B.C., was a student of Plato, see **7**; **10**; *DPhA* 4 M 117.

[5] Zeno of Citium, 335–263, was the founder of the Stoic school.

6 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.46 (*BT* v.1, p.220.17–221.7 Marcovich)

His (Plato's) pupils were Speusippus of Athens, Xenocrates of Calchedon,[1] Aristotle of Stagira, Philippus of Opus, Hestiaeus of Perinthus,[2] Dion of Syracuse,[3] Amyclas of Heraclea,[4] Erastus and Coriscus of Skepsis,[5] Timolaus of Cyzicus, Euaeon of Lampsacus,[6] Python and Heraclides of Ainos,[7] Hippothales[8] and Callippus of Athens, Demetrius of Amphipolis,[9] Heraclides Ponticus, and several others.

[1] Xenocrates of Calchedon, a student of Plato, was the successor of Speusippus (see **1** n. 3) as head of the Academy from 339–314 B.C., see **10**. For the fragments, see M. Isnardi Parente, *Senocrate-Ermodoro, Edizione, Traduzione e Commento*, Naples 1982.

[2] Hestiaeus of Perinthus, 4th century B.C., was one of the students of Plato who attended, together with Heraclides Ponticus, Plato's lecture *On the Good* and wrote it down, see **9**; *DPhA* 3 H 111.

[3] *DPhA* 2 D 167.

[4] *DPhA* 1 A 148.

7 Philodemus, Historia philosophorum PHerc. 1021 col. V, 32–VI, 10 (p. 134–5 Dorandi 1991)

5 W Ε̣ Π̣λ̣ά̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ο̣ς μ[αθη-
τα]ὶ ἠ̣σ̣[α]ν . .[———
. . .].[.]Ο̣[. . .]Ν̣[———
———]Π̣ΟϹ
———]ΜΟΙ̣Ϲ[.]. .
——]Ν̣ . [———
———]Ϲ̣ . Α .[. .]Ω <———>
δόνιος, Ἡρακλείδης Ἀμύντας VI
Ἡρακλεῶται, Μενέδημος Πυρ-
ραῖος, Ἑστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Ἀρισ-
τ[ο]τέλης Στα`γι´ρίτης, `Χαίρων Πελλ̣ηνεῦ̣ς´, Δίων Συ-
ρακόσιος ὁ τὴν Διονυσίου
τυραννίδα καθελών, Ἑρ-
μ[ό]δ̣ωρος Ϲυρακόσιος ὁ καὶ πε-
ρὶ α[ὐ]τοῦ γράψας καὶ τοὺς λό-
γο̣υς ε̣ἰ̣ς Ϲικελίαν [μετ]αφέ-
ρ̣[ω]ν̣, Ἔραστος καὶ `. . ω´.

= Xenocrat. fr. 1 Isnardi Parente

35 Ἕρμιπ]πος *Lasserre* 35–8 Ϲπεύσιπ]πος | [Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὸ] μουσ̣[ε]ῖ̣-ο̣ν̣ | [παρὰ Πλάτω]ν̣ο̣[ς̣ διαδεξά|μενος, Ξενοκράτη]ς Χ̣α̣λ̣|[κ]η- *Gaiser*

8 Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentarium 1.28C (BT t.1, p.90.21–4 Diehl)

5 W Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Ποντικός φησιν, ὅτι τῶν Χοιρίλου τότε εὐδοκιμούντων Πλάτων τὰ Ἀντιμάχου προὐτίμησε καὶ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Κολοφῶνα ἐλθόντα

[5] For these two students of Plato, see *DPhA* 2 C 187.
[6] *DPhA* 3 E 61.
[7] See **1** n. 11; *DPhA* 3 H 55.
[8] *DPhA* 3 H 158.
[9] *DphA* 2 D 48.

7 Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc*. 1021 col. V,32–VI,10 (p.134–5 Dorandi 1991)

Plato's pupils were ... (col. VI) of …]don,[1] Heraclides and Amyntas[2] (both) of Heraclea, Menedemus of Pyrrha,[3] Hestiaeus of Perinthus,[4] Aristotle of Stagira, Chaeron of Pellene, Dion of Syracuse, who brought down the tyranny of Dionysius, Hermodorus of Syracuse, who has also written about him (Plato) and brought his dialogues over to Sicily, Erastus and … *etc*.

[1] Gaiser's supplement of col. V,35–8 reads: "… [Speusip]pus [of Athens, who took over the Mouseion from Plato, Xenocrates of Chalce]don."
[2] Amyntas of Heraclea, cp. Amyntas no. 23, *RE* vol.1 col. 2008; *DPhA* 1 A 152.
[3] For Menedemus of Pyrrha, see **5** n. 4.
[4] For Hestiaeus of Perinthus, see **6** n. 2.

8 Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus[1] 1.28C (*BT* v.1, p.90.21–4 Diehl)

Heraclides Ponticus, for one, says that Plato preferred the poetry of Antimachus over that of Choerilus, which at that time enjoyed great popularity, and that he persuaded Heraclides himself to go to Colophon and collect the poems of this man

τὰ ποιήματα συλλέξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός.

1–4 *Antimach. Colophon.*: *T 4 Matthews; Duris FGrH 76 F 83, cf. Plut. Lys. 18.7–9*

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2 τὰ *CN*: τὴν *P*

9 Simplicius, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria 3.4 (CAG t.9, p.453.27–30 Diels)

7 W καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἀρχὰς τιθεὶς ἄπειρον εἶναι ἔλεγεν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ λόγοις, οἷς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἑστιαῖος καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἑταῖροι παραγενόμενοι ἀνεγράψαντο τὰ ῥηθέντα αἰνιγματωδῶς, ὡς ἐρρήθη.

Comment. ad Arist. Phys. 3.4 202b36 *Test. Plat. 23b (p.482 Gaiser); Porphyr. Fragmenta Platonica 174 F. (A. Smith); cf. Simpl. In Arist. Phys. libros comment. 1.4 (CAG t.9, p.151 Diels) = Heraclid. Pont. fr. 8 W, Speusippo Xenocrateque nomine nominatis, sed Heraclide omisso* 2 *Arist. fr. 28 (p.41.20-25) R*^{3} 3 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad* **1** *v. 4–5; de Heraclide Pontico auctore libri De bono vid.* **17** *(25)*

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1 ἄπειρα *α* 2 οἷς ὁ *α* 3 ἄλλοι *om. E*

10 Philodemus, Historia philosophorum PHerc. 1021 col. VI, 41–VII, 10 (p.136–7 Dorandi 1991)

9 W οἱ δ[ὲ] ν̣εανίσκοι ψηφ[ο]φορή- vi 41
σαντες ὅστις αὐτῶν ἡγή{σ}-
σετα[ι] Ξ̣ενοκράτη[ν] εἵλοντο̣
τὸν [Κα]λχ̣η̣δ̣όνιον, Ἀρισ̣το-
τέλους μ̣ὲν ἀποδεδημμη- vii
κότος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Με-
ν̣εδήμου δὲ τοῦ Πυρραίου
καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλε-
ὠ̣του παρ᾽ ὀλίγας ψήφους ἡτ-
τηθέντων· [ὁ] μὲν οὖν [Ἡ]ρα-
κλείδης ἀπῆ[ρ]εν ε[ἰς τ]ὸν
Πόντον, ὁ δ̣ὲ [Μενέδημ]ος ἔ-

(Antimachus).[2]

[1] Commenting on Plato, *Timaeus* 21B7–D3.
[2] Antimachus of Colophon was a writer of epic and elegiac poems of the 5th century B.C., cp. V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon. Text and Commentary* (= Mnemosyne Suppl. 155), Leiden 1996.

9 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* Physics 3.4 (*CAG* v.9, p.453.27–30 Diels)

And positing the great and the small as first principles he (Plato) said in his lectures *On the good* that it is unlimited. Aristotle and Heraclides and Hestiaeus[1] and others of Plato's pupils were present (at these lectures) and wrote up what he said in an enigmatic fashion, as it was said.[2]

[1] For Hestiaeus of Perinthus, see **6** n. 2.
[2] Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* Physics I 4 p.151 Diels (= Heraclid. Pont. 8 W) mentions "Speusippus and Xenocrates and the others," but not Heraclides, as "present at Plato's teaching about the Good," who "wrote up and preserved his belief" that "the first principles of all things and of the Ideas themselves are the One and the Unlimited Dyad, which he said is the great and the small," as Aristotle too mentions in his writings about the Good.

10 Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc*. 1021 col. VI,41–VII,10 (p.136–7 Dorandi 1991)

The young men decided by vote who of them would lead[1] and chose Xenocrates[2] of Calchedon. Aristotle was away in Macedon, and Menedemus of Pyrrha[3] and Heraclides of Heraclea lost by a few votes. Heraclides then departed to the Black Sea (Pontus), whereas Menedemus established another Peripatos and philosophical school.

[1] This account refers to 339 B.C., after the death of Speusippus, see **6** n. 1.
[2] For Xenocrates of Calchedon, see **6** n. 1.
[3] For Menedemus of Pyrrha, see **5** n. 4.

τερον περίπ̣α̣τον καὶ [δι]α-
τριβὴν κατε[σ]κευάσ̣ατο.

Speus. T 2 Tarán; Xenocrat. fr. 1 Isnardi Parente; T 3 Düring 1957

vii 7 *Spengel et Buecheler* 8 *Gomperz* 10 *Buecheler*

11 Suda Π 449 s.v. Παραστιχίς (LG t.4, p.43.1–4 Adler)

13b W Παραστιχίς· Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς εἴς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρῆτο μαρτυρίοις, ὡς Σοφοκλέους. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός. τοῦ δὲ ἀρνουμένου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος, ἐπέστειλεν ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε παγκάλως.

Diog. Laert. 5.92-3 (= **1***)* 3 *Dionysius vid.* **5**

2 Σοφοκλῆς *F* 5 ΠΑΓΚΑΛΟΣ *Diog. Laert. 5.93 (=* **1***)*

12 Philodemus, Historia philosophorum PHerc. 1021 col. IX,1–X,14 (p.139–41 Dorandi 1991)

. . .] . IC τεχ̣ν̣ίκ[ὸς ο]ὗ̣τος ἦν [– – –]
14b W NAC – τινὲς δ̣’ ὡς καὶ γραμμα-
τοδιδάσκαλ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδης {ἦν καὶ Ἡράκλειτος},
ἔστιν δὲ ταὐτὰ τῆι δυνά-
μει –, διότι «τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἡ-
ρακλ̣ε[ω]τ̣ῶν διά τινας αὐχ-
μοὺς συνεχε̣ῖς κ̣αὶ ἐπομ-
βρίας ἀκαίρους στει̣ρ̣ω̣θείσης,
[σ]υνέβη λι[μὸν π]ε̣ρ̣ὶ Ἡ[ρά]κλει[αν]
γενέσθαι π̣[αρὰ πάμπολ]λ’ ἔ-
τη. ψηφισα[μένων δὲ τῶν] Ἡ-
ρακλεωτῶ̣[ν αἰτεῖν, ὥσ]πε[ρ
φ]ασί, Τ[.]CΟ̣[. . . . . Κη-
φι]σογένους τὴν [Πυθί]α̣ν

11 *Suda* Π (Pi) 449[1] under "Acrostic" (*LG* v.4, p.43.1–4 Adler)

Acrostic: For one of his own writings Heraclides Ponticus used testimony as if it were that of Sophocles. On finding it out, Dionysius revealed to him what had happened. When Heraclides denied it and would not believe him, he told him to look at the acrostic: this comprised (the word) *pankalôs* ("in an all-beautiful manner").[2]

[1] This is an abridged version of the account presented in Diog. Laert. 5.92–3 = **1**; see there n. 22.

[2] The text in the *Suda* differs from that in Diog. Laert. 5.93 (**1**.114) in that it has an adverb παγκαλῶς ("in an all-beautiful manner") instead of a masculine nominative singular πάγκαλος ("All-beautiful").

12 Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*, *PHerc*. 1021 col. IX,1–X,14 (p.139–41 Dorandi 1991)

(He says) that he (Heraclides) was skilled ... — Some (say) that Heraclides taught reading and writing {as did Heraclitus}, which is the same in substance —, that:[1] "when the land of the people of Heraclea became barren because of persisting droughts and untimely heavy rains, a famine occurred in the area of Heraclea which lasted for many years. (11) And after the citizens of Heraclea had decided to ask (the Pythia) as they say …
(13–14) … Cephisogenes the Pythia …

[. . .]Α̣ΥΤ[.] πασχον̣[τ] . ΤΟ
[. . . .]ΟΝ[. . . . . .]ΟΜ .ΝΤ[. . .
.]ΟϹ [. . . . .] . ΕΙΞΑ Α
[. . . . .]ΟΝ[.Π]υθ̣ί̣α[. . .
. . . .] ΠΕΙϹΕΘΑΤΙ[. . .
. . . .]Ε̣[.]Ν̣ . Α [. . . . .]
Δ[.] τὴν π̣ρ̣ος[.]τ[– – –]
φ̣α̣σ̣[ι·] τὰ δ' Α[. . . . .]ΤΗ[.] . [. . .]
Ο . [. .]ΩΝΠ[. . . . . .]ϹΕϹΤΑΚ[.] . [.]
ΑΝ[.] . . [. . . . . . Ἡ̣ρα]κλεί̣δ̣[. . . .]
ΤΟΝ [. . . .] . Η[. . . . . . .] ἑ̣α̣υ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ
Ε[. . . . .] . [ΝΤΑ . [. . . . . .
. . . .] ΔΙΟΛ[. . . . .
. . . .]Ν[. . . . .
. . . .]ΕΡΕΤΟ . [.]
Η[– – –
– – –]ΗϹ
[– – –]Δ̣ΗϹ
[– – –]ΝΤ[.]ΥϹ[. . .]
. [. . . .] Ν[. . . . . .]ΟΝ̣Η[. . .] . ΠΟ[. .
. .]ΡΑΠΟ . . . [. τῶ]ν [Ἡρ]ακλε[ι-
ῶ]ν ΠΑΡΘ̣[.]Η . . . Α . . ΩΙ. Η[. . .
.]Ι . γινομένης δὲ τ[ῆ]ς ἀνα[γ-
νώ]σεως, π̣ε̣σ̣ὼν ΚΑ̣[. . .]ΡΑ[. .
. .]Ο[. . . .]Ο[. .]ΗΛ[.]ϹΘΗ[. . .]
ΕΤ[– – –]Ν καὶ [. .
. . .]ΩΝΑΚΑΤ[– – –]
15 W τῆς κερκίδος σφάλλετα[ι] καὶ X
φερόμενος ἕως εἰς μέσον
τὸ θέατρον καὶ ὑπὸ βάθρου
πληγεὶς συνετρίβη τὴν
κεφαλήν, ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγον
τοῦ διαφθείροντος ἐκπ[ν]ε̣ῦ-
σαι. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴ[ν προ-]
φῆτιν εἰς τὸν νεὼ̣ν̣ εὐκαί[ρως
πορ]ε̣υομένην ἐπ[ι]βῆν̣[αι
δρά]κ̣ο̣ντι καὶ δηχθεῖσα[ν]
ἀποθανεῖν». λέ[γει] δ' ἄν-

(37–38) While (the response) was being read Cephisogenes, having fallen down …
(X,1) He (Heraclides) lost his footing from his block of seats (in the auditorium) and falling all the way to the middle of the theater, hit a step and shattered his skull, with the result that he breathed his last shortly after the man who tried to corrupt (the Pythia). And it happened also that the prophetess who was just then coming into the temple stepped on a snake, was bitten, and died." (11) And this fellow (Demochares) says that there has

θρωπος καὶ βελ̣τ̣[ίο]να μαθη-
τήν [τ]ε καὶ πολίτην γεγο-
γ̣[έ]να̣ι̣ [. .]ΥΔΕΝ [. .] . ΟϹ[. . . . .]

ix 1 sq. .. τ̣ις τε[χ]ν̣ικ[ός] πω̣ς? ἦν [κατά τι]|να[ς *Mekler*: "μάν]τ̣ις τεχν̣ικ[ὸς ο]ὗτος ἦν, [οἶ]μα̣ι̣" *Gaiser* 3 D, {῾Ηρακλείδης} `ἦν καθ̣' ῾Ηράκλειτον´ *Gaiser* 9 *Gaiser*: λ[ιμόν] *Buecheler* 10 *Gaiser*: καὶ ἀνὰ πόλ]λ' *Mekler* 11 sq. *Gaiser*: ψηφισαμ[ένοις δὲ τοῖς] ῾Η[ρ]ακλεώτ[αις *Mekler* 12–13, 14–15 *Gaiser* 35 sq. *Gaiser*: [῾Ηρ]ακλεω{ν}|[τῶ]ν *Buecheler et Mekler* 37 sq. *Mekler* 38 *Gaiser* x 7 sq. *Mekler et Gaiser* 8 *Gaiser*: αὐ[θ]ωρ[ί *Mekler* 9 *Buecheler* 10 *Spengel Post* ἀποθανεῖν *spatium* 11–12 *Mekler* 14 ο]ὐδέν̣[α *Buecheler et Mekler*: [το]ῦδ' ἐν̣ [φι]λ̣οσ[όφοις *Gaiser*

13 Suda H 461 s.v. ῾Ηρακλείδης (LG t.2, p.581.20–4 Adler)

17 W ῾Ηρακλείδης ... οὗτος καὶ δράκοντα ἔθρεψε καὶ ἡμέρωσε καὶ εἶχε συνδιαιτώμενον αὐτῷ καὶ συγκαθεύδοντα· ὃς καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης εὑρέθη, τοῦ ῾Ηρακλείδου κατακλιθέντος μὲν ὑγιοῦς, οὐχ εὑρεθέντος δέ. καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπηθανατίσθαι ἐνόμισαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν φρέατι αὐτὸν ἐμβεβληκέναι, ὡς ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπηθανατίσθαι. ἔγραψε πολλά.

Diog. Laert. 5.89 (= **1***)*

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3 μόνον *V* 5 ἀπηθανατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν *V*: αὐτὸν ἀπηθανατίσθαι *GI* 6–7 ἀπηθανατίσθαι *GIV*: ἀπηθανατεῖσθαι *TFM*

14 Philodemus, De libertate dicendi, PHerc. 1471, fr. 20 (BT p.10.20–11.10 Olivieri)

φωνα̣ῖ̣[ς μετρίαις
θεραπ]εύων, διὰ δὲ τὴ̣[ν προ-
θυμία]ν αὐτῶν καὶ τήν, [εἴ γ' ἐ-]
δυνήθησαν, ὠφελίαν ἡ-
19 W μῶν, ἔτ̣ι δὲ τὴ[ν] μ̣ερ̣ι̣ζο-
μένην συνγ[ν]ώ[μ]ην ἐν ο̣ἷς
δ̣ιέπεσον, ὡς ἔν τ̣ε τοῖς
πρὸς Δημόκριτον ἵστα-
τ̣α̣ι διὰ τέλ̣ους ὁ ᾿Επίκουρος

even been a better pupil and citizen (than Heraclides) ...

[1] διότι "introduce un estratto letterale dalla fonte" (Dorandi 1991, p. 231).

13 *Suda* H (Eta) 461 under "Heraclides" (*LG* v.2, p.581.20–4 Adler)

Heraclides …[1] this man raised a snake and tamed it, and he let it live and sleep with him. This snake was in fact found alone in the bed, whereas Heraclides, who had gone to bed healthy, was not found. And some people believed he had become immortal, while others thought he had thrown himself in a well so that people would think he had become immortal. He wrote many works.

[1] **3** precedes.

14 Philodemus, *On Frank Speech*, *PHerc*. 1471, F 20 (*BT* p.10.20 –11.10 Olivieri)[1]

Treating (the pupils) with moderate words, and on account of their eagerness and usefulness to us, at least if they were capable, and furthermore the forgiveness imparted for their errors, as Epicurus consistently asserts in his (writings) in reply to Demo-

κ[αὶ πρὸς] Ἡ̣ρακλείδην ἐ̣ν

= Epicur. fr. 16 Us. *De Epicureis Heraclidem impugnantibus vid.* **1** (93); **15**; **72**

15 Plutarchus, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum 2 1086E–F (BT t.6, fasc. 2, p.125.7–17 Pohlenz-Westmann)

20 W καὶ ὁ Θέων ‘εἶτ’ οὐκ ἔλεγες’ εἶπεν ‘ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνων (scil. Ἐπικούρου καὶ Μητροδώρου λόγοις) ὁ Κωλώτης παραβαλλόμενος εὐφημότατος ἀνδρῶν φαίνεται; τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἴσχιστα ῥήματα, βωμολοχίας ληκυθισμοὺς ἀλαζονείας ἑταιρήσεις ἀνδροφονίας, βαρυστόνους πολυφθόρους βαρυεγκεφάλους συναγαγόντες Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πρωταγόρου καὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἱππαρχίας καὶ τίνος γὰρ
F οὐχὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν κατεσκέδασαν, ὥστ’, εἰ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα σοφῶς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὰς βλασφημίας ταύτας καὶ κατηγορίας πορρωτάτω σοφίας ἂν εἴργεσθαι.

1–9 κατεσκέδασαν *= Epicur. fr. 237 Us.* 5 βαρυστόνους *v. Epicur. fr. 114 (p.136.19) Us.* 6 *Aristoteles deest in* R^{3} 7–8 *Theophr. fr. 60 FHS&G*

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3 εὐφημότατος : εὐφημότης *g* 8 Ἱππαρχίας : ἱππάρχου *Π*

16 M. Terentius Varro, Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta, fr. 445 (Quinquatrus 6) (t.3, p.824 Krenkel)

21 W qui Tarentinum tuum ad Heraclidem Ponticon contenderet.

ex Nonio 4 (t.2, p.397.19–21 Lindsay)

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1 Ponticon *Oehler* : ponti *codd.* : ponto L^{1}

critus and (in those) in reply to Heraclides in ...

[1] See Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 1.

15 Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 2 1086E–F (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.125.7–17 Pohlenz-Westmann)

And Theon said: “Yet didn’t you say that by comparison to their (Epicurus’ and Metrodorus’[1]) writings Colotes appears to be the most polite of men in his speech? For they collected the ugliest expressions among humans — ‘coarse jestings,’ ‘hollow bellowings,’ ‘impostures,’ ‘prostitutions,’ ‘murder(er)s,’ ‘heavy groanings,’ ‘destroyers of many,’ ‘inflated heads’ — and showered (these) on Aristotle, Socrates, Pythagoras, Protagoras, Theophrastus, Heraclides, Hipparchia,[2] indeed, whom
F of the eminent figures did they spare? The result is that, even if there had been nothing but wisdom in everything else that they uttered, on account of these blasphemies and slanders they would be removed from wisdom by the greatest possible distance.

[1] Metrodorus of Lampsacus, *ca*. 330–278 B.C., Epicurean philosopher, was one of the closest friends of Epicurus, who had the highest opinion of Metrodorus, cp. fr. 146; 241 Usener; *DPhA* 4 M 152.
[2] Hipparchia was a Cynic philosopher of the 3rd century B.C.; *DPhA* 3 H 138.

16 M. Terentius Varro, Fragments of *Menippean Satires,* fr.445 (Quinquatrus 6) (v.3, p.824 Krenkel)

who compared your Tarentinian[1] with Heraclides Ponticus.

[1] See **1** n. 28.

De vita et studiis Heraclidis

vid. **49**, quo loco Plutarchus (Camillus 22.2) Heraclidem non multum a temporibus proelii ad Alliam commissi (i.e. anno 388 ante Chr.) afuisse scripsit

Vid. **26A**, quo loco Strabo (8.7.2) destructionem Helices (anno 373 ante Chr.) Heraclide vivo factam esse enarrat

Vid. **1**, quo loco Diogenes Laertius (5.86) Heraclidem Ponticum doctrinam Platonis aemulavisse dicit

Vid. **2**, quo loco Strabo (12.3.1) Heraclidem Platonicum appellat

Vid. **3**, quo loco Suda (H 461 s.v. Ἡρακλείδης) Heraclidem Platonis familiarem appellat

Vid. **30**, quo loco Cicero (De legibus 3.6.14) Heraclidem Ponticum a Platone profectum esse profitetur

Vid. **72**, quo loco (Cicero, De natura deorum 1.13.34) Velleius Heraclidem Ponticum e Platonis schola provenisse dicit

Vid. **85** et **117A**, quibus locis a Cicerone (Tusculanae disputationes 5.3.8; De divinatione 1.23.46) Heraclides Ponticus auditor Platonis dicitur

Vid. autem **66**, quo loco Proclus (Commentarium in Platonis Timaeum 4.281E) Heraclidem Ponticum Platonis discipulum fuisse negat

For the life and works of Heraclides
see **49**, where Plutarch (*Camillus* 22.2–4) writes that Heraclides did not live much later than the time of the battle at the river Allia (*i.e.,* 388 B.C.).
See **26A**, where Strabo (8.7.2) says that the destruction of Helike (373 B.C.) took place during Heraclides' lifetime.
See **1**, where Diogenes Laertius (5.86) says that Heraclides Ponticus zealously embraced (the teaching of) Plato.
See **2**, where Strabo (12.3.1) calls Heraclides a Platonist.
See **3**, where the *Suda* (H 461 under "Heraclides") calls Heraclides a pupil of Plato.
See **30**, where Cicero (*On Laws* 3.6.14) states that Heraclides Ponticus got his start from Plato.
See **72**, where Velleius says that Heraclides Ponticus came from the school of Plato (Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 1.13.34).
See **85** and **117A**, where Heraclides Ponticus is said to be a pupil of Plato by Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations* 5.3.8–9; *On Divination* 1.23.46).
See, however, **66**, where Proclus (*Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 4.281E) denies that Heraclides Ponticus was a pupil of Plato.

II. SCRIPTA

Libri a Heraclide Conscripti

17 Tabula inscriptionum

1 Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γʹ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**; ibid. 5.92 = **1** (τοῖς Περὶ δικαιοσύνης); Athe-naeus, Deipnosophistae 12.21 521E (BT t.3, p.151.21 Kaibel) = **22** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης); Ps.-Eratosthenes, Cataste-rismi 29 Ὀιστοῦ (35.17–8 Olivieri 1897) = **24A** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης); id. Catasterismorum fragmenta Vaticana codex T = Vaticanus Graecus 1087 (RhM 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm) = **24B** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.26 523F (BT t.3, p.156.2–3 Kaibel) = **23** (ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης); Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae (242.10–11 Maass) = **24C** (Heraclidis Pontici in quo propter iustitiam)

2 Περὶ σωφροσύνης] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1** (ἓν Περὶ σωφροσύνης); ibid. 5.88 = **1** (Περὶ σωφροσύνης)

3 Περὶ εὐσεβείας αʹ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**; ibid. 5.88 = **1** (Περὶ εὐσεβείας)

4 Περὶ ἀνδρείας αʹ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.86 = **1**

5 Περὶ ἀρετῆς αʹ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (κοινῶς Περὶ ἀρετῆς αʹ)

II. WRITINGS

Books Written by Heraclides

17 List of Titles

1 *On Justice*, three books] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**; *ibid.* 5.92 = **1** ("his[1] (books) *On Justice*"); Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.21 521E (*BT* v.3, p.151.21 Kaibel) = **22** ("in his[2] (treatise) *On Justice*"); Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars* 29 "Of the Arrow" (35.17–18 Olivieri 1897) = **24A** ("in his (work) *On Justice*"); *id.*, *Conversions into Stars*, Vatican Fragments, codex T = Vatican Greek 1087 (*RhM* 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm) = **24B** ("in his (work) *On Justice*"); Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.26 523F (*BT* v.3, p.156.2–3 Kaibel) = **23** ("in the second book of *On Justice*"); *Remains of the Commentaries on Aratus* (242.10–11 Maass) = **24C** ("of Heraclides Ponticus, in what (he wrote) about justice")[3]

2 *On Self-control*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1** ("one *On Self-control*"); *ibid.* 5.88 = **1** ("*On Self-control*")

3 *On Piety,* one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**; ibid. 5.88 = **1** ("*On Piety*")

4 *On Courage*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.86 = **1**

5 *On Virtue*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** ("*On Virtue* in general, one book")

[1] Instead of the possessive pronoun "his" the Greek text has the definite article (τοῖς Περὶ δικαιοσύνης), but the translation is justified since Diog. Laert. lists the works of Heraclides Ponticus. For the Greek article being used for a possessive pronoun, see R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, Part 2, *Satzlehre*, 3rd ed. 1898 (repr. Darmstadt 1966), vol. 1, p. 593.2.

[2] Instead of the possessive pronoun "his" the Greek text has the definite article (ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης), cp. previous note.

[3] In Diog. Laert. 5.86 the first twelve titles are listed under the heading "Ethical."

6 Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (ἄλλο Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α´)

7 Περὶ ἀρχῆς α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; ibid. 1.94 = **28** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς)

8a Νόμοι α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (Νόμων[1] α´ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις)

8b Περὶ νόμων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.50 = **31** (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων)

9 Περὶ ὀνομάτων α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

10 Συνθῆκαι α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

11 Ἀκούσιος α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

12 Ἐρωτικὸς ἢ (καὶ codd.) Κλεινίας α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.78 602B (BT t.3, p.328.2–3 Kaibel) = **37** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν)

13 Περὶ ἡδονῆς] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.5 512A (BT t.3, p.130.8 Kaibel) = **39** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς);

[1] *Cf. inscriptiones Aristotelis* Νόμων ᾱ β̄ γ̄ δ̄ *ap. Diog. Laert. Vitae philosophorum 5.26 (= p.8.140 R[3]) et Theophrasti* Θεόφραστος ἐν δ´ Νόμων: *Theophr. FHS&G fr. 635, cf. 653.*

6 *On Happiness*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** ("another *On Happiness*, one book")

7 *On Governance*,[4] one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; *ibid.* 1.94 = **28** ("in his (work) *On Governance*")

8a *Laws*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** ("one book of *Laws*[5] and of related subjects[6]")

8b *On Laws*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.50 = **31** ("in his (writings) *On Laws*")

9 *On Names*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

10 *Contracts*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

11 *Involuntary,* one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

12 *(Dialogue) concerning Love or* (*and* mss.)[7] *Clinias*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.78 602B (*BT* v.3, p.328.2–3 Kaibel) = **37** ("in his (work) *On Matters of Love*")

13 *On Pleasure*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1** ("the one *On Pleasure*");[8] Athenaeus, *The Sophists*

[4] Is this work identical with **17** (52) "*On Power*"? See *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 4. The same title Περὶ ἀρχῆς is found in the list of titles of Aristotle's works in Diog. Laert. 5.23 (= p.4.41 R[3]).

[5] Marcovich transposes α′ after καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις. However, this second topic is obviously not part of the original title, but a description of the contents of this work by the compiler of the list. Wehrli, on the other hand, in the Greek text of his fr. 22, marked off "and of related subjects" (τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις) with a semicolon, which makes "related subjects" a separate book title. But "related subjects" cannot in itself be a book title.

[6] What these topics might be one could gather from a work by Antisthenes in Diog. Laert. 6.16 "*On Law or what is noble and just*," Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου.

[7] One way to understand the καὶ of the manuscripts would be that it introduces the following "Clinias" as a separate title, so Marcovich who has to add here the number of books of the "Clinias" (he speculates this to be one (⟨α′⟩) since all other titles in the section "Ethical" provide this information. For the form of the title as restored by Gigante's conjecture, cp. **17** (49) "*On Public Speaking or Protagoras*."

[8] This work is omitted by Diog. Laert. 5.86–8 in his list of Heraclides' works, but it is mentioned in his comments on the style of some of them, see

ibid. 12.30 525F (BT t.3, p.160.14 Kaibel) = **41** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.45 533C (BT t.3, p.176.10 Kaibel) = **43** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.52 536F (BT t.3, p.183.14 Kaibel) = **42** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.77 552F (BT t.3, p.219.15 Kaibel) = **44** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς); ibid. 12.81 554E (BT t.3, p.223.27-224.1 Kaibel) = **40** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς)

14 Περὶ νοῦ] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

15 Περὶ ψυχῆς] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Plutarchus, Camillus 22.2–4 (BT t.1, fasc. 1, p.221.17–19 Ziegler) = **49** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συντάγματι)

16 Περὶ ψυχῆς] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1** (κατ' ἰδίαν Περὶ ψυχῆς)

17 Περὶ φύσεως] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

18 Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων] Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6. fasc. 2, p.189.16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων)

19 Περὶ εἰδώλων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

20 Πρὸς Δημόκριτον] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

21 Περὶ τῶν <ἐν> οὐρανῷ α΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

22 Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**; Plutarchus, De libidine et aegritudine 5 (BT t.6, fasc. 3, p.43.13–14 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **80** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον); id. Adversus Colotem

at Dinner 12.5 512A (*BT* v.3, p.130.8 Kaibel) = **39** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*"); *ibid.* 12.30 525F (*BT* v.3, p.160.14 Kaibel) = **41** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*"); *ibid.* 12.45 533C (*BT* v.3, p.176.10 Kaibel) = **43** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*"); *ibid.* 12.52 536F (*BT* v.3, p.183.14 Kaibel) = **42** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*"); *ibid.* 12.77 552F (*BT* v.3, p.219.15 Kaibel) = **44** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*"); *ibid.* 12.81 554E (*BT* v.3, p.223.27–224.1 Kaibel) = **40** ("in his (work) *On Pleasure*")

14 *On Mind*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**[9]

15 *On Soul*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.2–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p. 221.15–27 Ziegler) = **49** ("in his work *On Soul*")

16 *On Soul*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1** ("*On Soul* in a separate treatise")

17 *On Nature*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

18 *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*] Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** ("Heraclides' … *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*")

19 *On Images*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

20 *In Reply to Democritus*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

21 *On the Things <in> Heaven*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

22 *On the Things in the Underworld*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**; Plutarch, *Whether Desire and Grief Belong to Mind or Body* 5 (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.43.13–14 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **80** ("the book with the title *On the Things in the Underworld*"); *id.*, *In Reply to Colotes* 14

RUSCH vol. XV, chap. 4. This fact is an additional indication that the list is not in order, cp. *app. crit.* to **1**.10. Omitted in this list as well are titles **17** (18), (30), (32), (53) to (57).

[9] In Diog. Laert. 5.87 titles **17** (14) to (27) are listed under the heading "physical."

14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.15–16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου); Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἅιδην)

23 Περὶ βίων α′ β′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

24a Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

24b Περὶ νόσων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.51 = **82** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων); *ibid.* 8.60 = **87** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων)

24c Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum, Prooem. 12 = **84** (ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου); Galenus, De locis affectis 6.5 (t.8, p.415 Kühn) = **89** (ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ βίβλιον ἄπνους); id., De difficultate respirationis 1.8 (t.7, p.773 Kühn) = **90** (ἣν ἄπνουν ἔγραψεν)

25 Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

26 Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

27 Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

28 Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α′ β′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

29 Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α′ β′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.15–16 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** ("Heraclides' … *On the Things in the Underworld* "); Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1** ("*On the Things in the Underworld*")

23 *On Lives*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

24a *Causes relating to Diseases*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

24b *On Diseases*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.51 = **82** ("in his (work) *On Diseases*"); *ibid.* 8.60 = **87** ("in his (work) *On Diseases*")

24c *On the Woman not Breathing*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, Preface 12 = **84** ("in his (treatise) *On the Woman not Breathing*"); Galen, *On affected Areas* 6.5 (v.8, p.415 Kühn) = **89** ("the work is entitled *The Woman not Breathing*"); *id.*, *On difficulty of Breathing* 1.8 (v.7, p.773 Kühn) = **90** ("whom [Heraclides Ponticus] wrote about as *The Woman not Breathing*")[10]

25 *On the Good*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

26 *In Reply to the (doctrines) of Zeno*,[11] one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

27 *In Reply to the (doctrines) of Metron*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

28 *On the Age of Homer and Hesiod*, books 1, 2][12] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**[13]

29 *On Archilochus and Homer*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**

[10] From its contents, this title probably refers to the same work as **17** (24a) and (24b), see Casaubonus on Diog. Laert. *Prooem* 12; Voss p. 69; Wehrli p. 86; Gottschalk p. 14 who, on the other hand, points out that the title *Causes relating to Diseases* does not fit a dialogue, cp. p. 21 n. 22.

[11] This can only be the Pre-Socratic philosopher Zeno of Elea, 5th century B.C., not the founder of the Stoa, Zeno of Citium, see **5** n. 5.

[12] Most probably one book was dedicated to each poet (Wehrli p. 123) — the one on Homer is therefore not identical with **17** (30), where "in his first book *On Homer*" suggests more than one book on Homer.

[13] In Diog. Laert. 5.87 titles **17** (28); (29) are listed under the heading "grammatical."

30 Περὶ Ὁμήρου] Anonymus, In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea Commentarium 3.2 (CAG 20, p.145.27 Heylbut) = **97** (ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ὁμήρου)

31 Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α′ β′ γ′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

32 Συναγωγὴ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ] Pseudo-Plutarchus, De Musica 3 1131F (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.3.1 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **109** (ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ)

33a Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′][1] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.87 = **1**

33b Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′ γ′] Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 10.82 455C (BT t.2, p. 490.7 Kaibel) = **113** (ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς); ibid. 14.19 624C (BT t.3, p.377.1–2 Kaibel) = **114** (ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς)

34 Λύσεις Ὁμηρικαὶ α′ β′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Λύσεων Ὁμηρικῶν α′ β′)

35 Θεωρηματικὸν α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

36 Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

37 Χαρακτῆρες α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

38 Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

39 Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α′] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

[1] *vid. app. crit. ad Diog. Laert. Vitae philosophorum 5.87 (=* **1** *v.43)*

30 *On Homer*] Anonymous, *Commentary on Aristotle's* Nicomachean Ethics 3.2 (*CAG* 20, p.145.27 Heylbut) = **97** ("in his first book *On Homer*")
31 *On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles*, books 1, 2, 3] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**[14]
32 *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*] Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music* 3 1131F (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.3.1 Ziegler-Pohlenz) = **109** ("in his *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*")[15]
33a *On Music,* books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.87 = **1**
33b *On Music*, books 1,2,3] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 10.82 455C (*BT* v.2, p.490.7 Kaibel) = **113** ("in the third book of *On Music*"); *ibid.* 14.19 624C (*BT* v.3, p.377.1–2 Kaibel) = **114** ("in the third book *On Music*")[16]
34 *Solutions to Homeric (Questions)*, books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
35 *Theoretic*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
36 *On the Three Tragic Poets*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
37 *Characters*,[17] one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
38 *On Poetics and the Poets*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**
39 *On Conjecture*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

[14] In Diog. Laert. 5.87–88 titles **17** (31); (33a) and (34) to (48) are listed under the heading "musical."

[15] This must have been a different work from *On Music* (33a), unless it is one section of that work, cp. Gottschalk p. 133 n. 21.

[16] The difference between the number of books attested for **17** (33a) and (33b) respectively could be due to a mistake in transmission (see the conjecture by Meursius in **1** *app. crit.* l. 43), or be explained by the fact that the same material was distributed in different editions over either two or three books or, finally, that to a work *On Music* in two books a different work in one book, *e.g.* **17** (32), was attached.

[17] Most probably *Characters of style*, cp. the title *On Style or on Characters* in the list of the works of Antisthenes in Diog. Laert. 6.15, see Wehrli p. 119 (note on fr. 165 W).

40 Προοπτικὰ α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Προοπτικῶν α´)

41 Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

42 Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

43 Λύσεις ἐριστικαὶ α´ β´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α´ β´)

44 Ἀξίωμα α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

45 Περὶ εἰδῶν α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

46 Λύσεις α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

47 Ὑποθῆκαι α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

48 Πρὸς Διονύσιον α´] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

49 Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

50 Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

51 Περὶ εὑρημάτων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1**

40 *Foreseeings*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

41 *Expositions of Heraclitus*, four books] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

42 *Expositions in Reply to Democritus*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

43 *Solutions to Eristic (Arguments)*,[18] books 1, 2] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

44 *Axiom*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

45 *On Forms*,[19] one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

46 *Solutions*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

47 *Instructions*, one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

48 *In Reply to Dionysius*,[20] one book] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

49 *On Public Speaking or Protagoras*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**[21]

50 *On the Pythagoreans*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**[22]

51 *On Discoveries*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 = **1**

[18] Cp. the title of a work by Aristotle in Diog. Laert. 5.22 (= p.4.28 R^3) Λύσεις ἐριστικαὶ δʹ.

[19] This would probably be a treatise dealing with Plato's theory of forms. Hicks (1925) translates "Of Species," which suggests divisions in the tradition of Plato's later dialogues, *e.g. Politicus* 262B ff. Cp. the title of a work by Aristotle in Diog. Laert. 5.22 (= p.4.31 R^3) Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν ⟨αʹ⟩.

[20] Most probably this is Dionysius, the student of Heraclides, the "defector," since this title is grouped under Heraclides' musical works and the interaction with Dionysius included issues of literature (see **5**; **11**). The phrasing of the title "In Reply to …" suggests that Heraclides responded to philosophers (cp. **17** (20)), not that he took issue with the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse.

[21] In Diog. Laert. 5.88 (**1** l. 60) this is the only work listed under the heading "rhetorical." For the form of the book-title, cp. above n. 7.

[22] In Diog. Laert. 5.88 this and the following title are listed under the heading "historical." The same title Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων αʹ is found in the list of titles of Aristotle's works in Diog. Laert. 5.25 (= p.7.101 R^3).

52 Περὶ ἐξουσίας] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 = **1** (πέπλακεν ... τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὡς ... τὸ Περὶ ἐξουσίας)

53 Περὶ νήσων] Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De prosodia catholica (GG pars 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.5) = **133** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων); Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos (Σ 48) Στρύμη (p.242 Keaney) = **134** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων)

54a Περὶ χρηστηρίων] Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21 108.3 (t.1, p.69.25 Stählin-Früchtel) = **119** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων); Scholion in Hesiodi Scutum 70 (p.26–7 Ranke) = **122A** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων); Etymologicon Magnum s.v. Παγασαῖος (646.39–41 Gaisford) cum additamento codicis Laurentiani 304 B St. Marci (E. Miller, Mélanges de Littérature Grecque, Paris 1868, p.233) = **122B** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων)

54b Περὶ χρησμῶν] Scholion in Pindari Olympionicas 6.119 (t.1, p.180.6 Drachmann) = **121** (ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρησμῶν); Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De declinatione nominum (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. post. p.690.8) = **123** (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ χρησμῶν)

55 Κτίσεις ἱερῶν] Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrepticus 2.39.8 (p.62.36 Marcovich) = **141** (ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν)

56 Ζωροάστρης] Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.15 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** (μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας ... Ἡρακλείδου δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην)

57a Ἄβαρις] Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 1 14E (BT t.1, p.28.9–10 Paton-Wegehaupt-Gärtner) = **130** (καὶ τὸν Ἄβαριν τὸν Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τὸν Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀρίστωνος διερχόμενοι)

57b Τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερόμενα] Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.178.27–8 Bek-

52 *On Power*[23]] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the philosophers* 5.88 = **1** ("he has composed … others in a tragic manner, such as … the one *On Power*")

53 *On Islands*] Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Universal Prosody* (*GG* part 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.5) = **133** ("in his (treatise) *On Islands*"); Harpocration, *Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators* (Σ 48) under "Stryma" (p.242 Keaney) = **134** ("in the (treatise) *On Islands*")

54a *On Oracles*] Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 108.3 (v.1, p.69.25 Stählin-Früchtel) = **119** ("in his (treatise) *On Oracles*"); Scholion on Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles* 70 (p.26–27 Ranke) = **122A** ("in his (treatise) *On Oracles*"); *Great Etymological Lexicon* under "Pagasaean" (646.39–41 Gaisford) with a supplement from the Laurentian codex 304 B of St. Marcus (E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868, p.233) = **122B** ("in his (treatise) *On Oracles*")

54b *On Oracles*] Scholion on Pindar, *Olympian* 6.119 (v.1, p.180.6 Drachmann) = **121** ("in his treatise *On Oracles*"); Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On declension of nouns* (*GG* part 3, v.2, fasc. post. p.690.8) = **123** ("in his (treatise) *On Oracles*")

55 *Foundations of Sanctuaries*] Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 2.39.8 (p.62.36 Marcovich) = **141** ("in *Foundations of Sanctuaries*")

56 *Zoroaster*] Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.15 Pohlenz-Westmann) = **79** ("that … you could not pick up … and Heraclides' *Zoroaster*")

57a *Abaris*] Plutarch, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 1 14E (*BT* v.1, p.28.9–10 Paton-Wegehaupt-Gärtner) = **130**[24] ("reading through … Heraclides' *Abaris* and Ariston's *Lyco*")

57b *What is attributed to Abaris*] *Seguerian Lexica, On Composition* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1, p.178.27–8 Bekker) = **131**

[23] See above n. 4.

[24] Since the *Abaris* is not mentioned in the list of Heraclides' works in Diog. Laert., attempts have been made to consider this as an alternative title for works we know of, either *On Justice* (**17** (1)) or *On the Things in the Underworld* (**17** (22)); see however Gottschalk pp. 121–3.

ker) = **131** (ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων); Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.145. 22–23 Bekker) = **132** (τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων)

INCERTA

58 Suda Θ 282 s.v. Thespis (LG t.2, p.711.11–13 Adler) = **150**

Tragoediae
58a Ἆθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας

58b Ἱερεῖς

58c Ἠΐθεοι

58d Πενθεύς; Pollux, Onomasticon 7.45 (t.2, p.64.14–15 Bethe) = **151** (Θέσπις ἐν τῷ Πένθει)

18 Proclus, Commentarium in Platonis Parmenidem, liber 1 (OCT p.46–7 659.14–17 Steel)

23 W τὸ δὲ παντελῶς ἀλλότρια τὰ προοίμια τῶν ἑπομένων εἶναι, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ καὶ Θεοφράστου διαλόγων, πᾶσαν ἀνιᾷ κρίσεως μετέχουσαν ἀκοήν.

Arist. fr. I (p.23.3-7) R³; Theophr. fr. 44 FHS&G

19A Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 13.19.3–4 (t.5, 326, p.210 3.4–4.2 Shackleton Bailey)

24a W … absolvi nescio quam bene, sed ita accurate ut nihil posset supra, Academicam omnem quaestionem libris quattuor. in eis quae erant contra ἀκαταληψίαν praeclare collecta ab Antiocho Varroni dedi. ad ea ipse respondeo; tu es tertius in

("From the second book of *What is attributed to Abaris*"); *Seguerian Lexica, On Composition* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1, p.145.22–23 Bekker) = **132** ("From *What is attributed to Abaris*")

UNCERTAIN

58 *Suda* Θ (Theta) 282, under "Thespis" (v.2, p.711.11–13 Adler) = **150**

Tragedies

58a *The Funerary Games of Pelias or Phorbas*

58b *Priests*

58c *Young Men*

58d *Pentheus*; Pollux, *Nomenclature* 7.45 (v.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe) = **151** ("Thespis ... in his *Pentheus*")

18 Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Parmenides, Book 1 (*OCT* p.46–7 659.14–17 Steel)

The fact that the introductions are completely different from what follows, as in the dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus and Theophrastus, distresses every ear that partakes of good judgment.

19A Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 13.19.3–4 (v.5, 326, p.210 3.4–4.2 Shackleton Bailey)

… I have finished the whole question of Academic philosophy in four books,[1] I am not certain how well, but as carefully as it could be done within that scope. I have assigned to Varro[2] the arguments that have been so well assembled by Antiochus[3] against "the denial of certainty."[4] To these I respond myself, and

sermone nostro. si Cottam et Varronem fecissem inter se disputantis, ut a te proximis litteris admoneor, meum κωφὸν
4 πρόσωπον esset. hoc in antiquis personis suaviter fit, ut et Heraclides in multis et nos in sex de re publica libris fecimus.

1 possit *Kayser* 5 si … fecissem *PΔ* : set … fecisse *R* 6 ut *R* : *om. Δ* 7 esset ς : esse *RΔ* ut et *MBM* : ut *ERds* 8 in VI *Schütz* : in *ER* : VI *Mm* (videre .P. *M*) sex *b* : *om. ds*

19B Cicero, Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem 3.5.1 (25, p.92.11–16 Shackleton Bailey)

24b W ii libri cum in Tusculo mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse si ipse loquerer de re publica, praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus sed consularis et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem.

you are the third in our conversation. If I had presented Cotta[5]
and Varro arguing between themselves, as you advise me in
4 your most recent letter, I would have been a mute character. This
works nicely in the case of ancient persons, as both Heraclides
has done in many of his dialogues and I in my six books *About
the Republic*.[6]

[1] Cicero's *Academica* in four books, written in 45 B.C. The remark here refers to the revised edition in which the original two books were expanded to four: Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 13.13.1.

[2] M. Terentius Varro, 116–28 B.C., Roman scholar with a wide range of interests. Of his work only major parts of *On Agriculture* and *On the Latin Language* survive.

[3] Antiochus of Ascalon, who lived at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C., abandoned the scepticism of the Middle and New Academy in order to return to the teaching of the Old Academy. He became a close friend of Cicero, cp. *DPhA* 1 A 200.

[4] The impossibility of direct apprehension (ἀκαταληψία), that is the sceptic position which rejects the Stoic doctrine of impressions that carry certainty of their truth.

[5] C. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 75 B.C. He was interlocutor in Cicero's *De oratore* and *De natura deorum*, cp. *DPhA* 2 C 193.

[6] *De Republica* in six books; at a previous stage Cicero had planned nine books: *Letters to Quintus* 3.5.1.

19B Cicero, *Letter to Brother Quintus* 3.5.1 (25, p.92.11–16 Shackleton Bailey)

When these books (*De Republica*) were read out to me[1] in Tusculum in the presence of Sallustius,[2] he advised me that these issues could be discussed with much more authority if I myself were to speak about the republic, especially since I am not a Heraclides Ponticus, but a former consul, and one who has been involved in the greatest affairs in the state.

[1] Dionysios (see *RE* 5.1, col. 914: Dionysios 76) was one of the slaves of Cicero who read texts to him (and stole some of his manuscripts).

[2] Cn. Sallustius was a close friend of Cicero. He is not to be confused with the historian C. Sallustius Crispus.

20 Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae 8, fr. XV (OCT t.1, p.276.18–19 Marshall)

26 W historia ex libris Heraclidae Pontici iucunda memoratu et miranda.

Prisc. 6.61 (GLK t.2, p.246.6–8 Hertz): "Agellius noctium Atticarum VIII" *(*VIII *H et Darmstadini* [a] *et* [c]: VIIII *rell.)*

21A Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 15.27.2 (t.6, 406, p.132.6–7 Shackleton Bailey)

27a W librum tibi celeriter mittam 'De gloria' .excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδειον quod lateat in thesauris tuis.

1 mittam *ORMc* : -am tibi *Eδ*   1–2 Ἡρακλείδειον **C** : ΑΡΗΚΛΕΙΛΕΟΙΝ *vel sim. RMm*

21B Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 16.2.6 (t.6, 412, p.164.5–6 Shackleton Bailey)

27c W Ἡρακλείδειον, si Brundisium salvi, adoriemur. 'De gloria' misi tibi.

1 Ἡρακλείδειον ς: -ΕΙΔΙΟΝ *vel sim. ERΔ*

21C Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 15.4.3 (t.6, 381, p.82.6–8 Shackleton Bailey)

27b W 'at' inquis 'Ἡρακλείδειον aliquod.' non recuso id quidem, sed et componendum argumentum est et scribendi expectandum tempus maturius.

1 Ἡρακλείδειον ς: -ΔΙΟΝ *Δ et sim. R*

21D Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 15.13.3 (t.6, 416, p.180.1–4 Shackleton Bailey)

27d W <non> improbo Ἡρακλείδειον, praesertim cum tu tanto-

20 A. Gellius, *Attic Nights* 8, fr. XV (*OCT* v.1, p.276.18–19 Marshall)

A story from the books of Heraclides Ponticus, agreeable to tell and marvelous.

21A Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.27.2 (v.6, 406, p.132.6–7 Shackleton Bailey)

I shall very soon send you a book *On Glory*.[1] I shall hammer out something Heraclidean which may lie hidden in your treasure chamber.

[1] Cicero sent his work (*De gloria*) to Atticus on July 11, 44 B.C. (*Letter to Atticus* 16.2.6). It is lost.

21B Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.2.6 (v.6, 412, p.164.5–6 Shackleton Bailey)

After I have made it safely to Brundisium I shall set to work on my Heraclidean piece. I have sent you *On Glory*.

21C Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.4.3 (v.6, 381, p.82.6–8 Shackleton Bailey)

"Now," you say, "I should write something Heraclidean." I do not object to that, but I both need to compose the argument and I need to wait for a more opportune time for writing.

21D Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 15.13.3 (v.6, 416, p.180.1–4 Shackleton Bailey)

Now I approve of the Heraclidean piece, especially since you

pere delectere; sed quale velis velim scire. quod ad te antea atque adeo prius scripsi (sic enim mavis), ad scribendum, <si licet> tibi vere dicere, fecisti me acriorem.

1 non improbo *Shackleton Bailey*: improbo *RΔZ*$^{(1)}$: nec improbo *b*^{2}: iam probo *Manutius* Ἡρακλείδειον ς: -είδιον *δ*: ΕΙΑΕΡΟΝΙ *RM* 2 delectere *δ*: -tare *RM* 4 si licet *add. Shackleton Bailey, alii alia*

21E Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 16.11.3 (t.6, 420, p.190.1–3 Shackleton Bailey)

27e W Πεπλογραφίαν Varronis tibi probari non moleste fero; a quo adhuc Ἡρακλείδειον illud non abstuli. quod me hortaris ad scribendum, amice tu quidem, sed me scito agere nihil aliud.

2 -ΙΑΕΙΟΝ *vel sim. RM*: -ίδιον *δ*

21F Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum 16.12 (t.6, 421, p.196.10–11 Shackleton Bailey)

27f W de Ἡρακλειδείῳ Varronis negotia salsa. me quidem nihil umquam sic delectavit.

1 salsa me *bs*: salsam e- *M*: salsam me *m*: salsam *d*: salsam et *R*: salsa mihi et *P*

De Virtutibus, De Vita Beata (**22–5**)

De iustitia, libri tres] **17** (1)
De moderatione, liber unus] **17** (2)
De fortitudine, liber unus] **17** (4)
De virtute, liber unus] **17** (5)
De vita beata, liber unus] **17** (6)
Involuntarius, liber unus] **17** (11)

are so delighted by it, but I would like to know what sort of thing you want. As I wrote to you before, and, moreover, earlier (for you would prefer this word), you have made me keener to write, if I may tell you the truth.

21E Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.11.3 (v.6, 420, p.190.1–3 Shackleton Bailey)

I do not find it troublesome that you approve of Varro's "Literary Embroideries."[1] I still have not gotten that Heraclidean work out of him. As far as you are urging me to write, that is kind of you, but know that I am doing nothing else.

[1] Varro's "Literary Embroideries," Πεπλογραφία, i.e., description of garments, probably refers to Varro's work *Imagines* (*Portraits*), see H. Dahlmann, *RE* Suppl. VI 1227.

21F Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.12 (v.6, 421, p.196.10–11 Shackleton Bailey)

Witty considerations concerning Varro's Heraclidean work. Indeed nothing has ever amused me so much.

Virtues, Happiness (**22–5**)

On Justice, three books] **17** (1)
On Self-control, one book] **17** (2)
On Courage, one book] **17** (4)
On Virtue, one book] **17** (5)
On Happiness, one book] **17** (6)[1]
Involuntary, one book] **17** (11)

[1] For an additional fragment which could belong to this work, see **81** n. 1.

De Epicureo philosopho quodam Heraclidem de iustitia impugnante vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.92 (= **1**)
De comico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De moderatione usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)

22 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.21 521E–522A (BT t.3, p.151.21–152.5 Kaibel)

49 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης φησίν·
F 'Συβαρῖται τὴν Τήλυος τυραννίδα καταλύσαντες τοὺς μετασχόντας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιροῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἅπαντας *lacuna* καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις τούτοις ἀπεστράφη μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἄγαλμα, τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος ἀνῆκε πηγὴν αἵματος, ὥστε τὸν σύνεγγυς ἅπαντα τόπον κατεχάλκωσαν θυρίσι, βουλόμενοι στῆσαι τὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀναφοράν.
522A διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῶν πάνυ ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρῶσαι ἐθελήσαντες· καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων ὑπερβολῇ ὡς αὑτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς.'

Cf. Phylarch. FGrH 81 F 45; Ael. Var. hist. 3.43. Aliter describit Sybaris destructionem Her. 5.44 8 *sqq. De Sybaritarum studio Olympici certaminis diminuendi vid. Ath. 12.22 522D; Ps.-Scymnus GGM (t.1, p.210–1) 350–6; Dionysius Periegeta GGM (t.2, p.125) 372–4. Timaeus FGrH 566 F 45 eandem memoriam eventus, at de Crotoniatis tradit*

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4 *lacunam notavit Kaibel (qui* ἅπαντας *non satis idoneam emendationem pro* ἅπαντες *codd. arbitratur)*

23 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.26 523F–524B (BT t.3, p.156.2–19 Kaibel)

50 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης φησίν· 'ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυχίαις διὰ
524A τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας. οἳ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἀνεῖλον τοὺς ἐχθρούς. στασιαζόντων γὰρ τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι Γέργιθας ἐκάλουν, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος καὶ τοὺς

For Epicurean criticism of Heraclides' views on justice, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.92 (= **1**).
Concerning the comic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Self-control*, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

22 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.21 521E–522A (*BT* v.3, p.151.21–152.5 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus says in his (treatise) *On Justice*: "The
F Sybarites, having overthrown the tyranny of Telys,[1] were killing those who had taken part in his affairs and slaughtering them all on the altars … [*lacuna*] … and at this bloodshed the statue of Hera turned its face away and the ground shot forth a spurt of blood, as a consequence of which they blocked the whole area nearby with bronze doors, wishing to stop the spurting
522A forth of the blood. Because of this they were driven from house and home and were destroyed, all of them who had wished to diminish the contest even of the great Olympian games: for they watched for the time when the games were held, and by offering extravagant prizes they tried to lure the athletes to their own city."

[1] Telys was tyrant in Sybaris *ca*. 510 B.C. (Hdt. 5.44).

23 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.26 523F–524B (*BT* v.3, p.156.2–19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in the second book of *On Justice* says: "The city of the Milesians has fallen into misfortunes on account of luxurious living and animosities among citizens: they, not contenting themselves with decent behavior, uprooted their ene-
524A mies in total destruction. For when there was civil strife between the wealthy and the commoners, whom they called Gergithai,

πλουσίους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν τὰ τέκνα τῶν φυγόντων εἰς ἁλωνίας βοῦς εἰσαγαγόντες συνηλοίησαν καὶ παρανομωτάτῳ θανάτῳ διέφθειραν. τοιγάρτοι πάλιν οἱ πλούσιοι κρατήσαντες ἅπαντας ὧν κύριοι κατέστησαν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατεπίττωσαν. ὧν καιομένων φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γενέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν ἱερὰν αὐτομάτην ἀναφθῆναι. διό-
B περ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου καὶ ἐπερωτώντων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελαύνονται εἶπεν·

καί μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμίστων
πισσήρων τε μόρος καὶ δένδρεον αἰὲν ἀθαλλές.'

Praecedit Arist. fr. 557 R³. Cf. Heraclid. Pont. **41** 15–16 = *Parke-Wormell no. 130*

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3 πολιτικὰς *codd.* : πολιτικῆς *Ath. Epit. t.2,2 p.81 Peppink* 7 συναγαγόντες *A Kaibel* : συναγαγὼν *E* 13 αὐτοὺς τοῦ *Musurus* : αυ | του *A* : ἀπηλαύνοντο τοῦ *(mutata structura,* ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ *om.) E* 16 πισσήρων *codd.* : πισσηρός τε *E*

24A Ps.-Eratosthenes, Catasterismi 29 Ὀιστοῦ (BT p.35.7–19 Olivieri 1897)

51a W τοῦτο τὸ βέλος ἐστὶ τοξικόν, ὅ φασιν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾧ τε δὴ τοὺς Κύκλωπας <τοὺς> τῷ Διὶ κεραυνὸν ἐργασαμένους ἀπέκτεινε δι' Ἀσκληπιόν· ἔκρυψε δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις, οὗ καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτέρινος. λέγεται δὲ πρότερον ἀπενηνέχθαι ὅτε τοῦ φόνου αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπέλυσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο τῆς παρὰ Ἀδμήτῳ λατρείας, περὶ ἧς λέγει Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῇ Ἀλκήστιδι. δοκεῖ δὲ τότε ἀνακομισθῆναι ὁ ὀιστὸς μετὰ τῆς καρποφόρου Δήμητρος διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος· ἦν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθης, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης. ὅθεν εἰς τὰ ἄστρα τέθεικε τὸ βέλος ὁ Ἀπόλλων εἰς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μάχης καταστερίσας.

Cf. Hyg. De astronom. 2.15 (p.51.677–83) Viré 2 *De Cyclopibus Iovis fulmen conficientibus vid. Hes. Theog. 139–41* 6–7 *Eur. Alc. 1–6*

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2 ᾧ τε *Heyne* : ᾧ *Robert* : ὅτε *C* τοὺς *suppl. Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419* τὸν *ante* κεραυνὸν *suppl. Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419* 4–5 λέγεται δὲ πρότερον ἀπενηνέχθαι *expunxit Voss, probante Rehm, RhM 67 (1912), 419* πρότερον : ὕστερον *Heyne*

at first the people had the upper hand and expelled the wealthy citizens and collected the children of the exiles onto the threshing floors, where they brought in bulls and had the children trampled to pieces, killing them with a hideously lawless death. Accordingly, when the wealthy regained control, they took everyone whom they got hold of, with their children, and tarred them (and set them on fire). While these were burning, as the story goes, many other portents occurred and in particular a sacred olive tree
B burst into flame spontaneously. For this reason the god for a long period of time drove them away from his oracle, and when they asked why they were being driven away, he said:

> I too care about the murder of the Gergithai, unsuited for war,
> and about the doom of the tarred ones, and the tree forever
> without bloom."[1]

[1] For the civil war in Miletus, cp. Hdt. 5.28; Plutarch, *The Greek Questions* 32 298C–D.

24A Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars* 29 "Of the Arrow" (*BT* p.35.7–19 Olivieri 1897)

This (the arrow) is the missile propelled by the bow, which they say belongs to Apollo. With it he killed the Cyclopes, who had made the thunderbolt for Zeus, because of Asclepius.[1] And he hid it in the land of the Hyporboreans,[2] where also the feathered temple (is located). They say that it was brought back earlier,[3] when Zeus had cleared him of the murder and he had ended his servitude with Admetus, which Euripides mentions in his *Alcestis*. The arrow seems to have been brought back at that time, with Demeter bearer of fruit, through mid-air. And it was extremely large, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Justice*, and for this reason Apollo has placed this missile among the stars and made it into a constellation in commemoration of his own battle.

[1] Asclepius was the son of Apollo, the god of healing; when he restored mortals to life, Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt made by the Cyclopes. In his anger Apollo killed the Cyclopes. Zeus punished Apollo by making him serve Admetus, king of Pherae, whose wife Alcestis offers to die for him. This is the subject of the play by Euripides, mentioned here.

[2] The Hyperboreans were inhabitants of an imaginary land in the North.

[3] Heyne's conjecture ὕστερον would give "later."

24B Eratosthenes, Catasterismorum Fragmenta Vaticana, codex T = Vaticanus Graecus 1087 (RhM 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm)

51c W οὗτος (sc. ὁ ὀιστός) Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν, ὃν ἔκρυψεν Ὑπερβορίοις, οὗ καὶ ναὸς γίνεται ὁ πτέρινος, ὅτε τοὺς Κύκλωπας ἀνεῖλε *** τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν ποιήσαντας· ὅτε ἐπαύσατό τε καὶ ὀιστὸς ἀνεκομίσθη μετὰ τῆς καρποφόρου Δήμητρος. ἦν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθης. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου Ἄβαρίν τινα φερόμενον ἐλθεῖν. ὅθεν ὑπόμνημα τῆς αὐτοῦ μάχης Ἀπόλλων κατηστέρισεν αὐτόν.

6 *De Abaride vid. Hdt. 4.36; Pind. fr. 270 Snell-Maehler; Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. 29; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 91; 136; Heraclid. Pont.* **17** (57a), (57b)*;* **55**; **130–2**; **149A**; **B**

1 *fort.* ἐν *ante* Ὑπερβορίοις *Schütrumpf* 3 *** *spatium quindecim litterarum* 6 Ἄβαρίν τινα φερόμενον *Rehm*: κέβαριν τινὰ φερομένην *cod.*

24C Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae, IV Anonymus II, Aratus Latinus cum scholiis (241.15–242.10 Maass)

51b W hoc es iaculum, quod per arcum mittitur, quem dicunt Apollinis, quando interfecit omnes cycnos, qui Iovis fulmen furaverant. quos interemit per Asclepium. quem et abdidit ad aquilonem. et quando cessavit. tunc et iaculum adsumptum est cum fructiferam Cererem. erat autem super magnitudine Heraclidis Pontici in quo propter iustitiam.

inter annos A.D. 630–730 scriptum, vid. Maass, l.l. p. XLII

2 cicinos *B*: cycynos *P* (= Κύκλωπας) 3 interimit *B* has dipium *B*: asclipium *P* 4 abdidit : abscondit *P* cessavit : cessabit *B* 5 Cererem : ceteram *B* 6 Heraclidis *edd.* : Herculis *codd.* punctici *P* iusticiam *B*

25 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 2.21 130.3 (t.1, p.184.8–10 Stählin-Früchtel)

44 W Πυθαγόραν δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ τὴν ἐπι-

24B Eratosthenes, *Conversions into Stars*,Vatican Fragments, codex T = Vatican Greek 1087 (*RhM* 67, 1912, p.418 Rehm)

This (arrow) is Apollo's, which he hid with the Hyperboreans, where also the feathered temple is located, when he killed the Cyclopes — [*space of fifteen letters*] —, the ones who had made the thunderbolt: when he stopped and the arrow was brought back with Demeter bearer of fruit. It was extremely large. Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Justice* (says) that a certain Abaris[1] came, being borne along on it. Wherefore Apollo made this a constellation in memory of his battle.

[1] Abaris was a legendary figure, a priest of Apollo, from the land of the Hyperboreans; he carried with him the golden arrow, the symbol of Apollo, cp. *DPhA* 1 A 3.

24C Remains of the *Commentaries on Aratus*, IV *Anonymous* II, *Latin Aratus with scholia* (241.15–242.10 Maass)

This is the arrow that is shot with the bow, which they say belonged to Apollo when he killed all the swans who had stolen the thunderbolt of Jupiter. He killed them on account of Asclepius. And he hid it in the north. And when he stopped. Then also the arrow was brought back with fruit-bearing Ceres. But it was extremely large[1] (as is the report) of Heraclides Ponticus, in what (he wrote) about justice.

[1] *erat autem super magnitudine* appears to be an attempt to render the Greek ἦν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθης "it was extremely large" of **24B**.4–5; cp. **24A**.8–9. Or does it mean: "But there was regarding (its) largeness (a statement) of Heraclides Ponticus, in what …"?

25 Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 2.21 130.3 (v.1, p.184.8–10 Stählin-Früchtel)

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Pythagoras[1] has handed down

στήμην τῆς τελειότητος τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι παραδεδωκέναι.

Cf. Theodoret. Graec. affect. curatio 11.8

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2 τῆς τελειότητος *codd.*: τὴν τελειότητα *Hoyer* ἀριθμῶν *Potter*: ἀρετῶν *codd.*

De religione (**26–7**)

De pietate, liber unus] **17** (3)
De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De pietate usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)

26A Strabo, Geographica 8.7.2 384.29–30, 33–385.9 (t.2, p.528–30 Radt)

46a W κατεκλύσθη δ' ἡ Ἑλίκη δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ... . Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησι καθ' αὑτὸν γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος νύκτωρ δώδεκα σταδίους διεχούσης τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ θαλάτ-
385 της καὶ τούτου τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς σὺν τῇ πόλει καλυφθέντος, δισχιλίους δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πεμφθέντας ἀνελέσθαι μὲν τοὺς νεκροὺς μὴ δύνασθαι, τοῖς δ' ὁμόροις νεῖμαι τὴν χώραν. συμβῆναι δὲ τὸ πάθος κατὰ μῆνιν Ποσειδῶνος· τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλίκης ἐκπεσόντας Ἴωνας αἰτεῖν πέμψαντας παρὰ τῶν Ἑλικέων μάλιστα μὲν τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν. οὐ δόντων δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν δὲ ψηφισαμένων οὐδ' ὣς ὑπακοῦσαι, τῷ δ' ἑξῆς χειμῶνι συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος, τοὺς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς ὕστερον δοῦναι τὴν ἀφίδρυσιν τοῖς Ἴωσιν.

De destructione Helices vid. Ephor. FGrH 70 F 212; Paus. 7.24.6–12; Plin. Nat. hist. 2.92.206; Ael. De nat. anim. 11.19

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2 καθ' ἑαυτὸν *Pletho*: κατ' αὐτὸν *a (manus duae a quibus suppleta sunt quae in A deperierunt)*

the tradition that happiness is the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers of the soul.[2]

[1] Pythagoras of Samos, a philosopher, lived *ca*. 570–480 B.C.; he emigrated to Croton (Southern Italy), where he established a religious society, devoted to the cult of Apollo; he died in Metapontium.

[2] A different translation is possible as well: "happiness of the soul is the knowledge of the perfection of the numbers", cp. Gottschalk pp. 113–4; see, however, Wehrli, p. 71 *ad loc*.

On Religious Observance (**26–7**)

On Piety, one book] **17** (3)
Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Piety,* see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

26A Strabo, *Geography* 8.7.2 384.29–30, 33–385.9 (v.2, p.528–30 Radt)

Helike[1] was flooded two years before the battle of Leuctra,[2] … . Heraclides says that the disaster occurred in his own time, at night, the city being located twelve stades from the sea and this
385 whole area being covered (with water) along with the city, and that two thousand men were sent from the Achaeans and were not able to recover the corpses, but divided the land among the bordering peoples. And that the disaster happened on account of the anger of Poseidon, for when the Ionians were expelled from Helike, they sent messengers to the Helikans and asked especially for the wooden statue of Poseidon, but if not that, then at the least (permission to) found a copy of the sanctuary. When the Helikans refused (Heraclides continues), the Ionians sent messengers to the federation of the Achaeans, and, when these had voted (in favor of the request), the Helikans even so did not obey. And in the following winter the disaster happened, and the Achaeans gave (permission to) found a copy of the sanctuary.

[1] Helike was a city in Achaea, Northern Peloponnesus.

[2] At Leuctra in Boeotia the Spartans were defeated by the Thebans in 371 B.C.

26B Diodorus, Bibliotheca Historica 15.48.4-49.6 (p.61.3–62.27 Vial)

46b W περὶ δὲ τῶν συμπτωμάτων (scil. destructionis Helices et
Burae) μεγάλης οὔσης ζητήσεως, οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ πειρῶνται
τὰς αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρειν
ἀλλ' εἰς φυσικάς τινας καὶ κατηναγκασμένας περιστάσεις, οἱ
δ' εὐσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον πιθανάς τινας αἰτίας
ἀποδιδοῦσι τοῦ συμβάντος, ὡς διὰ θεῶν μῆνιν γεγενημένης
τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβήσασι· περὶ ὧν καὶ
ἡμεῖς ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψαι πειρασόμεθα τῇ κατὰ μέρος
ἱστορίᾳ.

49.1 κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰώθεσαν κοινὴν ποι-
εῖσθαι σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιωνίων καὶ θυσίας συνθύειν
ἀρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδῶνι περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην
Μυκάλην ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ. ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων
περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιώνια,
μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ τόπον, ὃς ἦν πλησίον
τῆς Ἐφέσου. πέμψαντες δὲ θεωροὺς Πυθώδε, χρησμοὺς ἔλα-
βον ἀφιδρύματα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ προγονικῶν
αὐτοῖς βωμῶν ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς ἐν τῇ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίᾳ, νῦν δὲ
2 Ἀχαΐᾳ καλουμένῃ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν
ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν τοὺς ληψομένους τὰ ἀφιδρύματα· οὗτοι
δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διαλεχθέντες ἔπεισαν διδό-
ναι τὰ ἀξιούμενα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑλίκην οἰκοῦντες, ἔχοντες πα-
λαιὸν λόγιον ὅτι τότε κινδυνεύσουσιν, ὅταν Ἴωνες ἐπὶ τοῦ
βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θύσωσιν, ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸν
χρησμὸν ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Ἴωσι περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων, λέ-
γοντες μὴ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ
τέμενος· συνέπραττον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὴν Βοῦραν
3 οἰκοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν κοινῷ δόγματι συγχωρησάντων,
οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ
τὸν χρησμόν, οἱ δ' Ἑλικεῖς τὰ χρήματα διαρρίψαντες τῶν
Ἰώνων τούς τε θεωροὺς συνήρπασαν ἠσέβησάν τε εἰς τὸ θεῖ-
ον. ἀνθ' ὧν φασι μηνίσαντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα διὰ τοῦ σει-
σμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τὰς ἀσεβούσας πόλεις λυ-

26B Diodorus, *The Library of History* 15.48.4–49.6 (p.61.3–62.27 Vial)

Concerning the disasters (*sc*. the destructions of Helike and Boura) there has been great inquiry. The physicists attempt to attribute the causes of these kinds of calamity not to the divine, but to certain physical causes and necessary circumstances, while those piously inclined toward the divine[1] give quite plausible reasons for the occurrence: namely, that the catastrophe had occurred because of the wrath of the gods against those who had offended the divine. I also shall attempt to write accurately about these things in my history dealing with each event.

49.1 Throughout Ionia nine cities were accustomed to hold a
national assembly of the Panionians and together they used to
make great ancient sacrifices to Poseidon in a remote spot in the
area called Mykale. Later, when wars broke out in these regions
and they were not able to hold the Panionia (there), they moved
the common assembly to a safe location, which was near Ephe-
sus. They sent sacred envoys to Delphi and received oracular
responses instructing them to take copies of their ancient heredi-
tary altars from Helike, in the region then called Ionia but now
2 called Achaea. Therefore the Ionians, in accordance with the
oracle, sent men to Achaea in order to take the copies. And they
addressed (their request) to the common body of the Achaeans
and persuaded them to grant what was asked. But the residents
of Helike, who possessed an ancient oracle that when Ionians
made sacrifices on the altar of Poseidon, they would be in dan-
ger, thought over the oracle and denied the request of the Ionians
concerning the copies, saying that the sanctuary did not belong
3 to all the Achaeans, but was their own private property. The resi-
dents of Boura took part with them in this refusal. But because
the Achaeans had consented in a decision of all, the Ionians made
a sacrifice on the altar of Poseidon in accordance with the ora-
cle, while the Helikans scattered the possessions of the Ionians
and arrested their sacred envoys, and they committed sacrilege
against the divine. In response to this behavior, they (the piously
inclined investigators) say, Poseidon became angry and ruined the
4 offending cities through the earthquake and the flood. And they
say that there are clear proofs that the wrath against the cities had

4 μήνασθαι. τοῦ δ᾽ ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος γεγονέναι τὴν μῆνιν ταῖς πόλεσί φασιν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν κατακλυσμῶν τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν διειλῆφθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκητήριον γεγονέναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ὥσπερ ἱερὰν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νομίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις μάλιστα
5 τῶν ἀθανάτων τὸν θεὸν τιμᾶν τοῦτον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλώματα καὶ συστάσεις ὑδάτων ναματιαίων μεγάλας. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ποταμοὺς φανεροὺς ῥέοντας ὑπὸ γῆν· ὅ τε γὰρ περὶ Φένεον ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν καταδυόμενος ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἠφανίζετο, τῶν κατὰ γῆς ἄντρων αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομένων, ὅ τε περὶ [τὸ] Στύμφαλον εἴς τι χάσμα καταδυόμενος ἐπὶ διακοσίους σταδίους φέρεται κεκρυμμένος κατὰ γῆς
6 καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ἐξίησιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λέγουσιν, ὅτι πλὴν τῶν ἀσεβησάντων οὐδεὶς ἄλλος περιέπεσε τῇ συμφορᾷ.

De naturalibus causis, quibus terra concutitur atque Helice et Bura destructae sunt, vid. Callisthen. FGrH 124 F 19; Arist. Meteor. 2.8.366a23–7 (exemplum: Achaia); Ps.-Arist. De mundo 4.396a17–21 8 ἡμεῖς *Diod. 16.61–4*

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7 τοῖς *om. P* ἀσεβήσασι *MFX*: ἀσεβήμασι *P* 8 ἀκριβῶς *om. P* 18–19 ἐν τῇ ... Ἰωνίᾳ ... Ἀχαίᾳ καλουμένῃ *Madvig*: ἐν τῷ ... Ἰωνίας ... Ἀχαίας καλουμένης *codd. Vial* 30 χρήματα *codd. retenuit Vogel (coll. Diod. 15.82.1), cf. Ael. Var. hist. 1.1.20*: θύματα *Dindorf* 32 φασι *Stephanus*: φησίν *PXM* 47 τὸ *PMF*: *del. Vogel* Στύμφηλον *Vogel*: Στύμφαλον *Vial*: Στύμφην *PXM*: Στύμφιον *F* τι *Dindorf*: τὸ *codd.*

27 Plutarchus, Pericles 35.1–5 (BT t.1, fasc.2, p.41.20–42.22 Ziegler-Gärtner)

47 W ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἰᾶσθαι (scil. Περικλῆς) καί τι παραλυπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀναβιβασάμενος ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον οὐκ ἐλάττω τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἰσχύος πα-
2 ρασχών. ἤδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέ-

come from Poseidon, since this god is distinguished for having command over earthquakes and floods, and because of the belief that in ancient times the Peloponnesus had become a home of Poseidon, and this region is believed to be, as it were, sacred to Poseidon, and in general all the cities in the Peloponnesus honor
5 this god most of the immortals. In addition to these indications, they say that the Peloponnesus has large underground caverns and large accumulations of running waters. For there are on the Peloponnesus two rivers clearly flowing underground: one river, in the area of Pheneus,[2] diving into the ground, became invisible in earlier times, since underground caves absorb it, and the other, in the area of Stymphalus, plunges into a chasm, runs hidden under the earth for two hundred stades, and comes to the
6 surface near the city of the Argives. In addition to the arguments given, they say that nobody other than those who had committed sacrilege experienced the disaster.

[1] “Piously inclined toward the divine”: contrary to contemporary authors (cp. Test. on **26A**), Heraclides attributed the cause for the destruction of Helike to the anger of Apollo (**26A**). This makes it most likely that Diodorus (**26B**), who refers to this sort of cause, used Heraclides’ account, and furthermore that Heraclides treated this event in his book *On Piety* (cp. Voss p. 44). Gottschalk p. 95 considers the alternative that this passage comes from *On Oracles* [**17** (54)].

[2] The Pheneus is located in the northern Peloponnese.

27 Plutarch, *Pericles* 35.1–5 (*BT* v.1, fasc.2, p.41.20–42.22 Ziegler-Gärtner)

And wishing to cure these problems (the opposition against him arising from the plague) and to inflict some grief on his enemies, he (Pericles) manned one hundred and fifty ships, and after putting on board many good hoplites and cavalry he was ready to set sail, providing great hope to the citizens and no less
2 fear to the enemy from such a great show of force. And when the ships had already been manned and Pericles had boarded his

ους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγῆναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπορημένον ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν ὄψεων αὐτοῦ καὶ παρακαλύψας ἠρώτησε, μή τι δεινὸν ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἴεται σημεῖον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔφη· 'τί οὖν', εἶπεν, 'ἐκεῖνο τούτου διαφέρει, πλὴν ὅτι μεῖζόν τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς τὴν ἐπισκότησιν;' ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

3 ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὔτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχοῦσαν ὡς ἁλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμείξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν
4 (scil. Περικλέα) ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τῆς ὀργῆς οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον, ἢ τὰς ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντή-
5 κοντα δ' οἱ τὸν πλεῖστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατήγορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Σιμμίας· ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Λακρατείδην εἴρηκε.

1–6 *cf. Thuc. 2.56.1–2; Diod. 12.45.3* 6 *sqq. Thuc. 2.28; Cic. De rep. 1.16.25* 16–19 *Thuc. 2.56.4–5* 20 *sqq. cf. Thuc. 2.65.1–3; Diod. 12.45.4–5; Dem. 26.6* 28 *sq. Idomeneus Lampsacenus FGrH 338 F 9 Theophr. fr. 616 FHS&G* 29 *Simmias: PA 12664; de Simmia vid. Plut. Praec. ger. reipubl. 10 805 C* *Lacratides: PA 8968; PAA (t.15) 600850; LGPN (t.2) p. 278*

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5 ἐλάττω : ἔλαττον *Y* 11 τῶν ὄψεων *S* : τῆς ὄψεως *Y* 14 τι *om. S* 23 τῆς ὀργῆς *Blass (coll. Thuc. 2.65.1)* : τὴν ὀργὴν *codd.* μετέπεισε] γρ κατέπαυσε S^{m} *(m 1)* 29 λακρατίδαν *codd. Wehrli* : *emend. Kaiser*

Politica (**28–35**)

De regimine, liber unus] **17** (7)
Leges, liber unus] **17** (8a)

own trireme, a solar eclipse happened to occur[1] and darkness fell, and everyone began to panic as if at a great portent. Therefore Pericles, seeing that the pilot was overcome by fear and quite at a loss, held his cloak up in front of the pilot's eyes and covered them, then asked whether he thought it was anything terrifying or a sign of anything terrifying. When the pilot said it was not, Pericles said, "In what, then, does this differ from that, except that what has created the darkness is larger than the cloak?" Indeed these things are said in the schools of the philosophers.

3 Pericles, in any case, then sailed out and seems to have done nothing else worthy of this preparation, though he did besiege sacred Epidaurus, which offered the hope that it would be taken, but then failed due to the plague. For coming upon them, it (the plague) destroyed not only them, but also those who engaged with the army in any way. When the Athenians were angry at him (Pericles) after this, he tried to console and encourage them.
4 But before he could dissolve their anger or persuade them to change, they took into their hands voting ballots against him, gained the authority, and took away his generalship and fined him. The amount of the fine was fifteen talents according to those writers who give the lowest figure and fifty according
5 to those who give the highest. The prosecutor recorded for the case, as Idomeneus[2] says, was Cleon, or, as Theophrastus says, Simmias. But Heraclides Ponticus has said it was Lacratides.

[1] Thucydides 2.28 dates this solar eclipse in the year 431.

[2] Idomeneus of Lampsacus, who lived in the middle of the 4th century to the first quarter of 3rd century B.C., was a politican and author of biographical works. The fragments of his works are collected in *FGrH* 338.

Politics (**28–35**)

On Governance, one book] **17** (7)
Laws, one book] **17** (8a)

De legibus] **17** (8b)
Pacta, liber unus] **17** (10)
De potestate] **17** (52)

De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De potestate usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)
Vide etiam **155** (POxy. 664+3544), reliquias dialogi in quo de tyranno Pisistrato agebatur

28 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.94 (BT t.1, p.67.12–68.6 Marcovich)

144 W Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους. οὗτος γήμας Λυσιδίκην, ἣν αὐτὸς Μέλισσαν ἐκάλει, τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθενείας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ Ἀριστομήδους θυγατέρα, οἳ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς, παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησε δύο, Κύψελον καὶ Λυκόφρονα, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον συνετόν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἄφρονα.

2 *Melissa: Hdt. 5.92η* 3 *Filia Proclis: Hdt. 3.50; Pythainetos FGrH 299 F 3; Paus. 2.82.2; Ath. 13.56 589 F* 6–8 *De duobus fratribus vid. Her. 3.51*

2 Λυσιδίκην *Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889), 307*: Λυσίδην *BP*F^3 4–5 ἀριστομήδους *B*P^1*QW*: ἀριστοδήμου F^3P^4*H* 5 ἀρκαδίας *B*F^3P^4*H*: ἡρακλείας P^1*QWH mg*

29 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.98 (BT t.1, p.71.11–14 Marcovich)

145 W Σωτίων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτην. τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις.

= Neanthes FGrH 84 F 19; 1–3 = Arist. fr. 517 R^3

On Laws] **17** (8b)
Contracts, one book] **17** (10)
On Power] **17** (52)

Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Power* see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).
See also **155** (*POxy*. 664+3544), the remains of a dialogue, in which Pisistratus is dealt with.

28 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.94 (*BT* v.1, p.67.12–68.6 Marcovich)

Periander the Corinthian,[1] son of Cypselus,[2] was from the line of the Heraclidae. He married Lysidice, whom he himself called Melissa, the daughter of Procles, the tyrant of the Epidaurians, and of Eristheneia, the daughter of Aristocrates and sister of Aristomedes. These in-laws ruled almost all of Arcadia, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Governance*. By her he had two sons, Cypselus and Lycophron; the younger[3] was clever but the elder was dimwitted.

[1] Periander was tyrant of Corinth, *ca*. 625–585 B.C.
[2] Son of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth *ca*. 657–625 B.C. See Schütrumpf-Gehrke 1996, v. 3, note on Aristotle, *Politics* 5.12, 1315b22.
[3] Lycophron was the younger son. According to Hdt. 3.53 Periander wanted him to become his successor as tyrant. He was murdered on Corcyra.

29 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.98 (*BT* v.1, p.71.11–14 Marcovich)

Sotion[1] and Heraclides and Pamphila[2] in the fifth book of the *Recollections* say that there have been two (famous men with the name) Periander, one the tyrant,[3] but the other a wise man from Ambracia.[4] Neanthes of Cyzicus[5] also says this, and that they were cousins.[6]

[1] Sotion, see **1** n. 5.

1 *Sotion SdA (Suppl. t.2) fr. 2* *Pamphile fr. 5 Cagnazzi* 2 *De duobus viris nomine Periandri notatis cf. Ael. Var. hist. 12.35* 3 *De Periandro tyranno Ambraciam regente vid. Arist. Pol. 5.10 1311a39; Schütrumpf-Gehrke comment. ad 5.3.1303a23* *De Periandro sapiente vid. 10.1 (t.1, p.61.21;24;28) DK; 3 ζ (t.1, p.65.15–66.3) DK* 4 *Neanthes FGrH 84 F 19*

30 Cicero, De legibus 3.6.14 (p.95.8–20 Ziegler-Görler)

143 W nam veteres verbo tenus acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque civilem, de re publica disserebant. Ab hac familia ista manarunt Platone principe. Post Aristoteles inlustravit omnem hunc civilem in disputando locum, Heraclidesque Ponticus profectus ab eodem Platone. Theophrastus vero institutus ab Aristotele habitavit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus Dicaearchus huic rationi studioque non defuit. Post a Theophrasto Phalereus ille Demetrius, de quo feci supra mentionem, mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque in pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit.

5 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid. T ad* **1** *v. 4–5* 6 *Theophr. fr. 591 FHS&G* 7–8 *Dicaearch. fr. 86 Mirhady* 9 *Demetr. Phaler. fr. 57 SOD*

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3 ab hac familia *dett.*: ab hanc familia *V*: ab Academia *Haupt Ziegler* 10 eruditorum quaeodioque *(corr. in* hodieque A^2*) V, corr. edd.*

31 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.50 (BT t.1, p.667.4–7 Marcovich)

150 W Πρωταγόρας Ἀρτέμωνος ἤ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Δί-

[2] Pamphila of Epidaurus was a philologist and author of the 1st century A.D.; one of her works was *Historical Recollections* (Ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα) in 33 books, from which this text comes.

[3] Periander was tyrant of Ambracia: Aristotle, *Politics* 5.10 1311a39. See Schütrumpf-Gehrke on 5.3 1303a23.

[4] Periander was considered one of the Seven Wise Men: DK 10.1 (I p. 61, 21; 24; 28); 3 ζ (p. 65.15–66.3).

[5] Neanthes of Cyzicus. Most probably there were two authors with this name. One was the orator who lived around 300 B.C. and the other was the historian who belonged to the end of the 3rd and maybe the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. See Jacoby, *FGrH* 2. Teil, C, Comm. on no. 84, p. 144–5.

[6] O. Regenbogen, *RE* XVIII 3, col. 314, considers it likely on the basis of the three names cited that Pamphila used Heraclides Lembus (see **1** n. 25), not Heraclides Ponticus.

30 Cicero, *On Laws* 3.6.14 (p.95.8–20 Ziegler-Görler)

For the ancients discussed the state incisively indeed, in so far as theory goes, but not with a view toward usefulness to people and citizens. These (discussions) spread more from that school of thought where Plato was the leader (of these debates), and later Aristotle elucidated this whole topic of politics in debate, as did Heraclides Ponticus,[1] who likewise got his start from Plato.[2] Theophrastus indeed, educated by Aristotle, was at home, as you know, in this sort of subject. And Dicaearchus, instructed by the same Aristotle, did not neglect this field of thought and study. Later a pupil of Theophrastus, that Demetrius of Phaleron of whom I made mention above, brought the teaching in astonishing fashion from the shadows and armchairs of the learned not only into the sun and arena, but into the very front line and heat of battle.

[1] Cicero writes in general terms about Heraclides' interest in political philosophy. It is not clear whether he had any particular work of Heraclides in mind [cp. **17** (7); (8a, b); (52)].

[2] Cp. testimonia on **1**.4–5.

31 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.50 (*BT* v.1, p.667.4–7 Marcovich)

Protagoras[1] son of Artemon, or, according to Apollodorus[2]

νων ἐν Περσικῶν ε′, Μαιανδρίου, Ἀβδηρίτης, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὃς καὶ Θουρίοις νόμους γράψαι φησὶν αὐτόν.

= 80 A 1 (t.2, p.253) DK 1 *Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 70* 1–2 *Dino FGrH 690 F 6*

1–2 Δίνων *sive* Δείνων *Menagius*: δίων *BPFD* 2 Περσικῶν ε′ *Diels app. crit. ad 80 A 1 (t.2, p.253) DK*: περσικῶν ἐν P^1Q: περσικοῖς ἐν *BD*: περσικοῖς FP^4 μαιανδρίου *PF*: μεανδρίου *BD*: μαιανδρίδου ἢ νεανδρίου *Suda (Π 2958 s.v.* Πρωταγόρας*)*: πατὴρ … Μαίανδρος *Philostr. VS 1.10*

32 Plutarchus, Solon 22.4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.109.21–8 Ziegler)

146 W ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἤδη σφοδρότερον (scil. ἐν τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις), τὸ μηδὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἑταίρας γενομένοις ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας τρέφειν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρηκεν ὁ Ποντικός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν γάμῳ παρορῶν τὸ καλὸν οὐ τέκνων ἕνεκα δῆλός ἐστιν ἀλλ’ ἡδονῆς ἀγόμενος γυναῖκα, τόν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει καὶ παρρησίαν αὑτῷ πρὸς τοὺς γενομένους οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν, οἷς αὐτὸ τὸ γενέσθαι πεποίηκεν ὄνειδος.

1 *Solon fr. 56 Ruschenbusch*

6 γεννωμένους *Coraes Richards*

33 Plutarchus, Solon 1.3-4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.82.8–14 Ziegler)

147 W τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ Σόλωνος Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς
4 ἱστορεῖ τῆς Πεισιστράτου μητρὸς ἀνεψιὰν γενέσθαι, καὶ φιλία τὸ πρῶτον ἦν αὐτοῖς πολλὴ μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, πολλὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν καὶ ὥραν, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν ἐρωτικῶς τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἀσπαζομένου τοῦ Σόλωνος.

3 διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, *cf. Diog. Laert. 1.49* 4–5 *De amore, qui fertur inter Solonem et Pisistratum exstitisse, vid. Arist. Ath. Pol. 17.2; Ael. Var. hist. 8.16*

and Dinon[3] in the fifth book of his *Persian Affairs*, son of Maiandrios, was a native of Abdera, according to what Heraclides Ponticus says in his (writings) *On Laws*,[4] and Heraclides also says he wrote the laws for Thurii.

[1] For Protagoras of Abdera, see **17** (49).
[2] Apollodorus *FGrH* 244.
[3] Dinon of Colophon, historian, 4th century B.C., wrote on *Persian Affairs* (Περσικά) down to the events of the year 343 B.C. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 690.
[4] **17** (8b).

32 Plutarch, *Solon* 22.4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.109.21–8 Ziegler)

But this is yet more extreme (in Solon's laws), that it was not even required for sons born from a hetaira to support their fathers, as Heraclides Ponticus has related. For someone who disregards the honorable in his marriage clearly has taken a wife not for the sake of children, but for the sake of pleasure, and he receives in full his due and he has not left himself the right of scolding his children, for whom he has made the very fact of having been born a matter of shame.

33 Plutarch, *Solon* 1.3–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.82.8–14 Ziegler)

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon's mother was the cousin
4 of the mother of Pisistratus.[1] And at first there was a close friendship between them, first because of their blood relationship, and also because of natural beauty and youth, and there are some who say that Solon had an erotic affection for Pisistratus.[2]

[1] For what is known about the connections between the families of Solon and Pisistratus, cp. Davies *APF* 8792, I, p. 322–3; 11793, II, p. 445. The name of the mother of Pisistratus — or of her cousin — is not known: Schachermeyer, *RE* XIX 1, col. 156.
[2] Wehrli p. 109 argues that Heraclides bases the friendship between Solon and Pisistratus on their family relations and that it is, therefore, unlikely that the erotic relationship was part of his account. For chronological reasons, it is rejected by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 17.2.

34 Plutarchus, Solon 32.3 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.123.14-17 Ziegler)

148 W ἐπεβίωσε δ’ οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συχνὸν χρόνον, ὡς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν.

3 *Phanias: SdA (t.9) fr. 21; FGrH IVA fasc.1 1012 F 15*

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1 οὖν ὁ Σόλων *om. S*   συχνὸν *Y*: πολὺν *S*

35 Plutarchus, Solon 31.2–5 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.122.5–21 Ziegler)

149 W οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν
πραγμάτων οὕτως ἐξεθεράπευσε τὸν Σόλωνα τιμῶν καὶ
φιλοφρονούμενος καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος, ὥστε καὶ σύμ-
3 βουλον εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πρασσομένων ἐπαινεῖν. καὶ
γὰρ ἐφύλαττε τοὺς πλείστους νόμους τῶν Σόλωνος,
ἐμμένων πρῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάζων· ὅς γε
καὶ φόνου προσκληθεὶς εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἤδη τυραννῶν,
ἀπήντησε κοσμίως ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος οὐχ
ὑπήκουσε· καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἑτέρους ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ
ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύ-
4 ων. τοῦτο δέ φησιν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θερσίπ-
πῳ πηρωθέντι τοῦ Σόλωνος ψηφισαμένου μιμήσασθαι τὸν
5 Πεισίστρατον. ὡς δ’ ὁ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε, καὶ τὸν τῆς
ἀργίας νόμον οὐ Σόλων ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος, ᾧ τήν
τε χώραν ἐνεργοτέραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠρεμαιοτέραν ἐποί-
ησεν.

5 ἐφύλαττε ... 8 (ἀπολογησόμενος): *Arist. Ath. Pol. 16.8*   6–8 *Arist. Pol. 5.12 1315b21–2*   11–12 *Thersippus: PA 7196; PAA (t.9) 512980*   12 *Solon fr. 146 Ruschenbusch*   13 *Theophr. fr. 608 FHS&G*   *De lege Solonis de inertia vid. Plut. Sol. 22.3*

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5 τῶν *Lindskog*: τοῦ *codd.*   13 δ’ ὁ *S*: δὲ *Y*   15 ἐνεργοτέραν *Lindskog*: ἐνεργεστέραν *Y et superscriptum S*

34 Plutarch, *Solon* 32.3 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.123.14–17 Ziegler)

At any rate, after Pisistratus had begun to rule as tyrant, Solon continued to live, according to Heraclides Ponticus for a considerable time, but according to Phanias of Eresus[1] for less than two years.

[1] Phanias (alternative spelling Phainias: Wehrli *SdA* v. 9, 27; *FGrH* 1012) of Eresus (on Lesbos) was a contemporary of Theophrastus (see Theophrastus' letter fr. 374 FHS&G). The date given for Solon's death by Phanias might be based on Aristotle, whereas Heraclides' vague dating might be intended to allow the possibility of Solon meeting Croesus: Davies *APF* 8792, II (p. 323–4).

35 Plutarch, *Solon* 31.2–5 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.122.5–21 Ziegler)

However, Pisistratus, after he took control of things, so much
cultivated Solon by honoring him, treating him kindly, and sum-
moning him that he (Pisistratus) actually became his (Solon's)
3 advisor and praised much of what he did. For he (Pisistratus)
preserved the majority of Solon's laws, observing them himself
in the first instance and forcing his friends to do so. He was even
summoned before the Areopagus on a charge of murder, when
already a tyrant, and showed up for his defence ready to argue as
was fit and due, but the prosecutor did not appear. And he him-
self wrote other laws, among which is also the one commanding
that those incapacitated in war be supported at public expense.
4 But Heraclides says that even earlier Solon had sponsored such
a decree in the case of Thersippus, who had been incapacitated,
5 and that Pisistratus followed his example. As Theophrastus
has reported, the law about idleness[1] too was not established
by Solon, but by Pisistratus, who thereby made the countryside
more productive and the city quieter.

[1] Herodotus 2.177.1–2 claims that Solon took over this law from the Egyptian king Amasis, but this is chronologically improbable since Solon's travels took place after his legislation in Athens: Hdt. 1.29.1–30.1. A law about idleness had been attributed as well to Draco (Plut. *Sol.* 17.2), see R.W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council, to 307 B.C.*, Baltimore-London 1985, 62–4; 244 n. 60.

De Amore, De Voluptate (**36–45**)

Amatorius vel Clinias, liber unus] **17** (12)
De voluptate] **17** (13)

De comico modo dicendi in libro De voluptate usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)

36 Hermias, Scholia in Platonis Phaedrum 230E (p.33.11–12; 17–19 Couvreur-Zintzen)

64 W οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἁπλῶς φαῦλον τὸ ἐρᾶν ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ... οἱ δὲ ἁπλῶς ἀστεῖον ὡς Ἡρακλείδης, φιλίας λέγων εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλου τινός, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δέ τινας ἐκπίπτειν εἰς ἀφροδίσια.

1–2 *Epicur. fr. 483 Us.* 2 ἀστεῖον *cf. Alex. Aphr. In Arist. Top. libros octo comment. II 2, p.139.21 (CAG t.2, pars 2)* τὸ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἔρως ἀστεῖον πρόβλημα*, cf. Suda E 3070 s.v.* Ἔρως *(t.2, p.417.14) Adler* 2–3 φιλίας ... εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα*, cf. Plat. Symp. 195C5–6* εἰ Ἔρως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, ... φιλία καὶ εἰρήνη (ἂν ἐγίγνοντο) ⇢

37 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.78 602A–C (BT t.3, p. 327.16–20; 25–328.16 Kaibel)

65 W Ἱερώνυμος δ’ ὁ Περιπατητικὸς περισπουδάστους φησὶν

Eros, Pleasure (**36–45**)

(Dialogue) concerning Love or Clinias,[1] one book] **17** (12)
On Pleasure][2] **17** (13)

Concerning the comic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On Pleasure* see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

[1] Clinias. This could be either Clinias III, the son of Axiochus (Davies *APF* 600, VI (B), p. 17). Clinias III is an interlocutor in conversations with Socrates in Plato (*Euthyd*. 273A5; 275A10–B1) and Xenophon (*Symp*. 4.12f.; 23); he is the lover of the Athenian Critobulus (Plato, *Euthyd*. 271B) of the deme Alopece. Or he could have been his cousin Clinias IV (Davies *APF* 600, VI (A), p. 16; VII, p. 17–18 — his father Clinias II was the brother of Axiochus) whom Heraclides had in mind (Wehrli, p. 81, prefers this identification). He was the younger brother of Alcibiades, the interlocutor of Socrates in Plato's dialogue on love, the *Symposium*. In [Plat.] *Alc. I* 118E4 this Clinias is characterized as "mad, insane" (μαινόμενον).

[2] The fragments from the work *On Pleasure* (**39–44**) avoid hiatus: Voss p. 39–40.

36 Hermias, *Scholia on Plato's* Phaedrus 230E (p.33.11–12; 17–19 Couvreur-C. Zintzen)

For some assumed that loving is simply vulgar, for example Epicurus, …, but others, that it is simply fine, for example Heraclides, who said that love aims at friendship and at nothing else, even though some people fall into sex by accident.

2 ἀστείον *A^a*: ἀστεῖαν *vel* ἀστεῖσιν *M*: ἀστεῖον *Ast* Ἡρακλείδης *BCEM*: ὁ Εὐκλείδης *A^a* φιλίας *codd.*: φιλίαν *Ast* 3 ἄλλου τινός <παρασκευαστικὸν> *Meineke ex Ath. 13.12 561C, at* ἔρωτα φιλίας *Diog. Laert. 7.130 = Zeno SVF t.3, fr. 716 (R. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften, T. II, Leipzig 1882, p.392 adn.3 [in p.397]), cf. Cic. Tusc. 4.33.70* quis enim est ille amor amicitiae?

37 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.78 602A–C (*BT* v.3, p.327.16–20; 25–328.16 Kaibel)

Hieronymus the Peripatetic[1] says that love affairs with boys

γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας, ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τῶν νέων ἀκμὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑταιρικὸν συμφρονῆσαν πολλὰς τυραννίδας καθεῖλεν. παιδικῶν γὰρ παρόντων ἐραστὴς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἕλοιτ' ἂν παθεῖν ἢ δειλοῦ δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς παιδικοῖς. ἔργῳ γοῦν τοῦτο ἔδειξεν ... (*exempla omittuntur*) περὶ Σικελίαν δ' ἐν Ἀκράγαντι ὁ Χα-
B ρίτωνος καὶ Μελανίππου <ἔρως>. Μελάνιππος δ' ἦν τὰ παιδικά, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν. οὗτοι φανέντες ἐπιβουλεύοντες Φαλάριδι καὶ βασανιζόμενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότας οὐ μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολῦσαι αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἐπαινέσαντα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἡσθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται.
C ἔχρησεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις. ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς ὅδε·

εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ,
θείας ἁγητῆρες ἐφαμερίοις φιλότατος.

1 *Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 35 White* 4–6 *vid. Plat. Symp. 178D4–179A8; Xen. Symp. 8.32–3* 7–22 *De Charitone et Melanippo vide Ael. Var. hist. 2.4; ap. Plut. Amat. 16 760C Melanippus amator maior natu est* 21–2 *= no. 327 (t.2, p.131) Parke-Wormell; Oenomaus fr. 12 Hammerstaedt (at v.2* θείας ἁγητῆρες ἐν ἀνθρώποις διχονοίας*)*

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3 ἑταιρικὸν *glossema esse suspicatus est Kaibel* 4 παιδικῶν *Schweighäuser, coll. Plat. Symp. 179A3* : παίδων *A* 8 ἔρως *add. Schweighäuser* 17 δὲ *Wilamowitz* : τε *A*

38A Scholia in Germanici Aratea BP p.102 (p.194.1–15 Eratosthenes, Catasterismorum Reliquiae, Robert)

66a W de quinque stellis, quas planetas vocant ob adsiduos earum motus. quinque deis adsignaverunt. de his <primus> Phaenon, quem Heraclides Ponticus refert <a> Prometheo pulcherrimum fictum hominem. quem cum occulisset et Cupido eum Iovi indicasset, misit <is> Mercurium, qui eum

became much sought after because the prime age of the young men and their social relations with each other had often conspired to destroy the rule of many tyrants. For in the presence of the beloved, a lover would choose to suffer any kind of hardship rather than gain a reputation for cowardice with his beloved. This at least was proved in fact … in Agrigentum on Sicily by
B the love affair of Chariton and Melanippus. Melanippus was the beloved, as Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Matters of Love*. These two were discovered to be plotting against Phalaris,[2] and when they were being forced under torture to state their fellow conspirators, not only did they not disclose them, but they even led Phalaris himself into pity for the torturing, with the result that he praised them highly and released them. For this reason Apollo, pleased at these developments, granted as a favor to Phalaris a postponement of his death, and revealed this to those who inquired of the Pythia how they should attack him. He gave a pronouncement also about Chariton and his cir-
C cle, setting the pentameter before the hexameter, just as later Dionysius the Athenian, the one called "Brazen",[3] did too in his elegies. And this is the oracle:

> Happy were Chariton and Melanippus,
> Leaders for mortals in divine friendship.[4]

[1] Hieronymus the Peripatetic came from Rhodes and belongs to the 3rd century. The fragments are collected by White, *RUSCH* vol. XII, see *DPhA* 3 H 129.

[2] Phalaris was tyrant of Acragas (Sicily) *ca*. 570–555, see **117A**.

[3] Dionysius belongs to the 5th century B.C. He recommended the introduction of copper coinage in Athens, which gave rise to his nickname.

[4] For ancient variations of this story, cp. Gottschalk p. 93 n. 18.

38A Scholia on Germanicus' *Aratea* BP p.102 (p.194.1–15 Eratosthenes, *Remains of Conversions into Stars*, Robert)

Concerning the five stars which people call planets on account of their constant motion: they have assigned these to five gods. The first of these is Phaenon, who, as Heraclides Ponticus reports, was made a most handsome man by Prometheus. After Prometheus had concealed him and Cupid had pointed

tamquam ad immortalitatem vocaret. qui non ante adnuit, quam potione accepta caelo receptus honoratus est. Iovis est stella Phaenon.

1–2 *Ps.-Eratosthen. Catasterismi (p.51.5–8 Olivieri 1897); Achilles Comment. in Aratum reliqu. 17 (p.43 Maass* ^{2}*1958)* 7–8 *Iovis est stella Phaenon: differebat Ps.-Arist. De mundo 2. 392a24* ὁ τοῦ Φαέθοντος (κύκλος) Διὸς λεγόμενος

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1 quas *Schaubach*: quae *BP* adsiduos: *auctor commentarii Latini legit* ἀιδίαν *pro correcta lectione* ἰδίαν *ut monet Wilamowitz* 2 deis *ε*: dies *BP* 2–3 de his <primus> Phaenon, quem *Schaubach*: de his hae non, quae *BP (*πρῶτον μὲν Διός, Φαίνοντα, κτλ.*, Ps.-Eratosth. Catasterismi p.51.7–8 Olivieri 1897)* 3 a *add. Schaubach* 5 eum Iovi *β*: etuitivut *BP* is *add. β*

38B Hyginus, De astronomia 2.42.1 (BT p.91.1315–22 Viré)

66b W quarum (scil. quinque stellarum, quas planetas Graeci dixerunt) una est Iovis, nomine Phaethon, quem Heraclides Ponticus ait, quo tempore Prometheus homines finxerit, † in his et † hunc pulchritudine corporis reliquos praestantem fecisse eumque supprimere cogitare neque Iovi ut ceteros reddere et Cupidinem Iovi nuntiasse; quo facto missum Mercurium ad Phaethontem persuasisse ut ad Iovem veniret et immortalis fieret; itaque eum inter astra collocatum.

2 Photon *M*: Phoeton *PW*: Pheton M^{corr}: Phaenon *Bunte Le Bœuffle* quem *om. δ*: quam *P*: de qua *LZ* Erachydes *R*: Eradides *W*: Eraclydes R^{corr} 3 Panticus *R*: Pontificus *RE* 4 constituisse *add. ante* in *L* in his et *ex scholiis*: inisset *SP*: iniisset *NE*: in iis et *M*: finiiset *A*: *om.* M^{corr} *R*P^{corr} *FδZ Bunte, Le Bœuffle* 5 Iovi P^{corr}: Iovis *RP om.* M^{corr} R^{corr2} *Fδ Le Bœuffle* ut ceteros *om.* M^{corr}: ut certum R^{corr2} *Fδ* 6 reddere et *Le Bœuffle*: redderet *codd.* 7 Phetonda *N*: Photonta *M*: Phoetonta *W*: Phaenonta *Bunte Le Bœuffle*

39 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.5 512A–D (BT t.3, p.130.8–131.19 Kaibel)

55 W Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς τάδε λέγει· ‘οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὄντες κύριοι καὶ πάντων εἰληφότες πεῖραν τὴν ἡδονὴν προκρίνουσιν, μεγαλοψυχοτέρας ποιούσης τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰς τῶν ἀν-

him out to Jupiter, he (Jupiter) sent Mercury to summon him as if it were to grant him immortality. Phaenon did not accept until he had been given a magic potion[1] and was received into heaven and honored (there). Phaenon is the star of Jupiter.

[1] Literally: "until a magic potion had been taken (by him)." Does this refer to ambrosia? In this case, the story is very similar to the arrangement of marriage between Cupid and Psyche in Apul. *Met.* 6.23.5: "et ilico (Iuppiter) per Mercurium arripi Psychen et in caelum perduci iubet et prorrecto ambrosiae poculo 'sume', inquit 'Psyche, et immortalis esto' …" (N. Lenski drew my attention to this passage). If there was no reference to a 'potion,' could *potione* be a mistaken reading for *portione?* That is: Phaenon did not accept until he had received a part (of the sky) by becoming a star.

38B Hyginus, *Astronomy* 2.42.1 (*BT* p.91.1315–22 Viré)

Of these (*i.e.*, the five planet stars, which the Greeks have called 'planets') one is of Jupiter, Phaethon by name. Heraclides Ponticus said that at the time Prometheus created men, he made this man outstanding above the others in beauty of body, and when he was considering holding him back and not turning him over to Jupiter as he did with the others, Cupid brought word to Jupiter. As a result Mercury was sent to Phaethon and persuaded him that he should come to Jupiter and be made immortal. And so they say he was placed among the stars.

39 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.5 512A–D (*BT* v.3, p.130.8–131.19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says the following: "tyrants and kings, who have control over all the good things and have tried them all, judge pleasure the foremost good because pleasure makes the nature of humans more magnani-

θρώπων φύσεις. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ τρυφᾶν προῃρημένοι μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰ-
B σιν, ὡς Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι. μάλιστα γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἡδονὴν οὗτοι καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν τιμῶσιν, ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὄντες. ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἥδεσθαι καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀνίησι γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ αὔξει, τὸ δὲ πονεῖν δούλων καὶ ταπεινῶν. διὸ καὶ συστέλλονται οὗτοι καὶ τὰς φύσεις. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις, ἕως ἐτρύφα, μεγίστη τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχοτάτους
C ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἁλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ ἠμπίσχοντο ἱμάτια, ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόρρας ἐφόρουν. ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν. καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μάχην καὶ μόνοι τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης δύναμιν χειρωσάμενοι. καὶ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι δέ', φησίν, 'καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἔχοντες μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι νομίζουσιν, Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὑτωσὶ λέγων

τίς γὰρ ἁδονᾶς ἄτερ θνα-
τῶν βίος ποθεινὸς ἢ ποί-
α τυραννίς;
D τᾶσδ' ἄτερ οὐδὲ θεῶν ζηλωτὸς αἰών.

Πίνδαρος <δὲ> παραινῶν Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίων ἄρχοντι

'μηδ' ἀμαύρου', φησί, 'τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ, πολύ τοι
φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών'.

καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὸ εὐφραίνεσθαι 'τέλος' φησὶν εἶναι 'χαριέστερον', ὅταν 'δαιτυμόνες' μὲν ἀοιδοῦ ἀκουάζωνται, 'παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι', τοὺς δὲ θεούς φησιν εἶναι 'ῥεῖα ζώοντας' — τὸ δὲ ῥεῖά ἐστιν ἀπόνως — ὥσπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν κακῶν ἡ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ταλαιπωρία καὶ ὁ πόνος.'

1–20 (χειρωσάμενοι) *Ael. Var. hist. 4.22; Socrates ibid. 10.14* 22 *Simonides PMG 584* 28 *Pind. fr. 126 Maehler* 31–34 *Hom. Od. 9.5–8* οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ *(i.e. Odysseus)* γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι / ἢ ὅτ' ἐϋφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα, / δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ, / ἥμενοι ἑξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι / σίτου καὶ κρειῶν *..., cf. Plat. Rep. 3.390A10; Arist. Pol. 8.3 1338a29–30; [Hes.] Cert. Hom. et Hes. 79–81; Ps.-Plut. De Hom. 150 (Kindstrand); Ps.- Heracl. Quaestiones* →

mous. In any case, all those who value pleasure and choose to live in luxury are magnanimous and magnificent, such as the
B Persians and the Medes. For these people most of all human beings value pleasure and living in luxury, and they are the bravest and most magnanimous of the barbarians. For experiencing pleasure and living in luxury are characteristic of free people, because this frees their souls and strengthens them, whereas laboring is characteristic of slaves and the lowly: for this reason such people are actually contracted in their natures. And the city of the Athenians, as long as it enjoyed luxury, was at
C its greatest and nurtured the most magnanimous men. For they wore purple cloaks, and they put on embroidered tunics, and they bound up their hair in knots on the crown of their head and wore golden cicadas as ornaments on their brow and temples. And their slaves carried folding chairs for them, so that they would not sit down just in any place. Such were those who were victorious at Marathon and single-handedly defeated the power of all Asia. The most sensible men," he says, "who have the greatest reputation for wisdom, believe pleasure is the greatest good. Simonides for example says this:

> For what life of mortals is desirable without pleasure, or what kind of tyranny?
>
> D Without this (pleasure) not even the life of the gods is enviable.

<And> Pindar, advising Hieron ruler of the Syracusans:

> 'Do not diminish,' he says, 'joy in life; indeed much the best thing for man is a joyful life.'

And Homer too says that good cheer and merriment is 'the finest goal,' when 'feasters' listen to a singer and 'the tables beside them are laden,' and he says the gods 'live easily' — and easily is without toil — as if to show that hardship and toil in life are the greatest of evils."

Homericae 79   34 ῥεῖα ζώοντας : *Hom. Od. 4.805; 5.122 et alibi*

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1 ἐν τῷ *Musurus* : ἐκ τῶν *A*   7 τῶν ἄλλων *A* : πάντων *E*   9 βαρβάρων : ἀνθρώπων *E*   *post* ὄντες *lacunam indicavit Voss*   17 κόρρας *Birt* : κόμας *AE*   18 καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ *Wilamowitz* : καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἱ τὴν *codd., Ath. epit., vol.2,2 p.74 Peppink* : οἱ τοιοῦτοι *del. Kaibel*   24 γὰρ *om. E*   24–25 θνητῶν *AE*   27 τᾶς δ' *AE* : δ' *secl. Kaibel*   28 δὲ *add. Kaibel*   32 χαριέστατον *Meineke*

40 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.81 554E–F (BT t.3, p.223.26–224.14 Kaibel)

56 W ἐν μανίᾳ δὲ τρυφὴν ἡδίστην γενομένην οὐκ ἀηδῶς ὁ
Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης διηγεῖται ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς οὕτως
γράφων· ‘ὁ Αἰξωνεὺς Θράσυλλος ὁ Πυθοδώρου διετέθη
ποτὲ ὑπὸ μανίας τοιαύτης ὡς πάντα τὰ πλοῖα τὰ εἰς τὸν
Πειραιᾶ καταγόμενα ὑπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀπε-
γράφετο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέστελλε καὶ διῴκει καὶ καταπλέοντα
F ἀπεδέχετο μετὰ χαρᾶς τοσαύτης, ὅσησπερ ἄν τις ἡσθείη
τοσούτων χρημάτων κύριος ὤν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολομένων
οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτει, τοῖς δὲ σῳζομένοις ἔχαιρεν καὶ διῆγεν μετὰ
πλείστης ἡδονῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κρίτων ἐκ Σικε-
λίας ἐπιδημήσας συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν ἰατρῷ καὶ
τῆς μανίας ἐπαύσατο, διηγεῖτο <πολλάκις περὶ τῆς ἐν μανίᾳ
διατριβῆς> οὐδεπώποτε φάσκων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἡσθῆναι
πλείονα. λύπην μὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡντινοῦν αὐτῷ παραγίγνε-
σθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλειν.’

= *Ael. Var. hist. 4.25, cf. Soph. Aj. 554* ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιστος βίος; *Ps.-Arist. Mir. 31. 832b17–21, cf. Hor. ep. 2.2,128–40* 3 *Thrasyllus Pythodori filius: PA 7339; PAA (t.9) 517600* 10 *Crito Thrasylli frater: PA 8822; PAA (t.10) 585820*

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3 ἀξωνεὺς θρασύλαος *A*: *corr. Schweighäuser, Meineke ex Ael. Var. hist. 4.25* Θράσυλλος ὁ Αἰξωνεὺς 4 τοιαύτης *codd.*: τοιούτως *proposuit Kaibel* 6 ἀπέστελλε *Meineke*: ἀπέστειλε *A*: *om. E* 7 ἡσθείη *Meineke*: εἴη *codd.* 9 οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτησεν *Ath. epit., vol.2,2 p.99 Peppink (differt app. crit. editionis Athenaei a Kaibel editae:* οὐδὲν ἐπεζήτει *E)*: οὐδὲ ἐπεζήτει οὐδέν *proposuit Kaibel* 12–13 πολλάκις περὶ τῆς ἐν μανίᾳ διατριβῆς *vel simile aliquid supplendum esse proposuit Kaibel, collato Ael. Var. hist. 4.25*

41 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.30 525F–526A (BT t.3, p.160. 14–17 Kaibel)

57 W Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς Σαμίους
526 φησὶ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν τρυφήσαντας διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
μικρολογίαν ὥσπερ Συβαρίτας τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι.

1 *De luxuria Samiorum cf. Duris FGrH 76 F 60; Timaeus FGrH 566 F 50*
3 *De destructione urbis Sybaris vid.* **22** ⇢

40 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.81 554E–F (*BT* v.3, p.223.26–224.14 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus narrates not unpleasantly in his (work) *On Pleasure* that in a state of madness luxury becomes most pleasant, writing as follows: “Thrasyllus of the deme Aexone,[1] son of Pythodorus, was once afflicted with a madness of such a kind, with the result that he took all the ships landing at the Peiraeus to be his own. He registered them in his accounts, and sent them out and managed them, and when they returned he received them with such great joy, as one would feel with plea-
F sure in being the owner of so much wealth. He made no search at all for those that were lost, but he rejoiced in those that came back safe, and he lived with the greatest pleasure. But when his brother Crito returned home from Sicily, he (Crito) took hold of him (Thrasyllus) and turned him over to a doctor, and (Thrasyllus) was cured of his madness. Then he <quite often told stories about his life in madness,> saying that he had never once enjoyed life more. For not a single sort of pain had befallen him, and the quantity of his pleasures was far greater.”

[1] Aexone was a deme in Attica, belonging to the tribe Cecropis.

41 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.30 525F–526A (*BT* v.3, p.160.14–17 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says that the
526 Samians lived in excessive luxury and through their pettiness toward each other ruined their city just as the Sybarites (did).

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3 μικρολογίαν : φιλοτιμίαν *Kaibel*

42 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.52 536F–537C (BT t.3, p.183. 13–184.24 Kaibel)

58 W περὶ δὲ Καλλίου καὶ τῶν τούτου κολάκων φθάνομεν
καὶ πρότερον εἰπόντες. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ καινῶς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ
Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἄνωθεν
ἀναλαβὼν διηγήσομαι. ‘ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐστρά-
τευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τότε, ὥς φασιν, Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνὴρ Διό-
μνηστος κύριος ἐγένετο τῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χρημάτων.
ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τῷ ἐκείνου σκηνῶν καὶ τὰ χρήμα-
537A τα εἴς οἴκημά τι θέμενος τῆς οἰκίας· τελευτησάντων δὲ πάν-
των διέλαθεν ἔχων ὁ Διόμνηστος τὸ χρυσίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν
ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν
στράτευμα, προστάξας ἀνάστατον [γενέσθαι] ποιῆσαι τὴν
πόλιν, εἰκότως ὑπεξετίθεντο, ὅσοι χρημάτων ηὐπόρουν. οἱ
οὖν καταλελειμμένοι τῆς τοῦ Διομνήστου οἰκίας παρ᾽ Ἱπ-
πόνικον τὸν Καλλίου τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἐπικαλούμενον ὑπεξ-
έθεντο τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἀνασκευασθέντων
ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἁπάντων <τῶν> Ἐρετριέων κατέσχον
B οὗτοι τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα. ὥστε Ἱππόνικος ὁ ἀπ᾽ ἐκεί-
νου γεγονὼς τοῦ τὴν παρακαταθήκην λαβόντος ᾔτησεν
Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τόπον, ἵν᾽ οἰκοδομήσηται
τοῖς χρήμασιν ὅπου κείσεται, [λέγων] ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ὂν
ἐν ἰδιωτικῇ οἰκίᾳ πολλὰ χρήματα εἶναι. καὶ ἔδοσαν <ἂν>
Ἀθηναῖοι, νουθετηθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μετενόησεν. τού-
των οὖν [ὄντων] τῶν χρημάτων Καλλίας κύριος γενόμενος
καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν βιώσας – ποῖοι γὰρ οὐ κόλακες ἢ τί πλῆ-
C θος οὐχ ἑταίρων περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ποίας δὲ δαπάνας οὐχ
ὑπερεώρα κεῖνος; – ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν περιέ-
στησεν <ἀπορίας> ὁ περὶ ἡδονὴν βίος ὥστε μετὰ γρᾳδίου
βαρβάρου διατελεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῶν
καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐνδεὴς γενόμενος τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

τὸν δὲ Νικίου’, φησί, ‘τοῦ Περγασῆθεν πλοῦτον ἢ τὸν
Ἰσχομάχου τίνες ἀπώλεσαν; οὐκ Αὐτοκλέης καὶ Ἐπικλέης
οἱ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ζῆν προελόμενοι καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐν ἐλάττονι

42 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.52 536F–537C (*BT* v.3, p.183.13–184.24 Kaibel)

Concerning Callias and his flatterers, we have already spo-
ken previously. But since Heraclides Ponticus reports novel
things about him in his (work) *On Pleasure*, I will take up this
topic from the beginning and narrate it fully. "According to tradi-
tion, when the Persians first invaded Euboea,[1] at that time Dio-
mnestus, a citizen of Eretria, came into control of the general's
money. For the general happened to have put up his tent on his
537A farm, and had placed his money in a room of his house, and,
when the whole army perished, nobody noticed that Diomnestus
had the gold. But when the Persian king again sent an army into
Eretria, ordering it to lay the city to waste, naturally everyone
who was well off moved their money to a place of safety. So
those remaining of the house of Diomnestus moved their money
to Athens for safety, to Hipponicus son of Callias, who is nick-
named Ammon.[2] And when all the Eretrians were transplanted
B by the Persians, these men (Hipponicus and Callias) kept the
money, which was a considerable sum. So it came about that
Hipponicus, grandson of the man who had received the deposit,
once requested from the Athenians a site on the Acropolis where
he could build a structure to house the money, since he con-
sidered it not safe for a large sum of money to remain in a pri-
vate house. And the Athenians would have granted his request,
but he was warned to reconsider by his friends and changed his
mind. So Callias came into control of this money and lived for
C pleasure. For what sort of flatterers did he lack? Or what crowd
of companions did not surround him? What scale of expenditure
did he not scorn as trivial? But nevertheless his life of pleasure
brought him into such a state of poverty that he was forced to
live on with an old woman of barbarian origin, and he ended his
life having become needy of daily necessities.

And who," he says, "squandered the wealth of Nicias of Pergase,[3] or that of Ischomachus? Was it not Autocles and Epicles, who preferred to live with each other and considered everything

ποιούμενοι τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατανάλωσαν, κώνειον πιόντες ἅμα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν;’

Ael. Var. hist. 4.23; alia narratio originis divitiarum Calliae: Plut. Aristid. 5.7–8 30 *Nicias Pergaseus: PAA (t.13) no. 712685* 31 *Ischomachus: Davies APF 7826.XIII,XIV; PAA (t.9) no. 542570* *Autocles: PA 2718; PAA (t.4) no. 238935* *Epicles: PA 4844; PAA (t.6) no. 393135*

11 γενέσθαι *del. Dindorf*: ποιῆσαι *del. Schweighäuser* 16 τῶν *add. Musurus* 20 λέγων *del. Meineke* 21 ἂν *add. Wilamowitz* 23 ὄντων *A*: *om. E*: *del. Kaibel* 27 ἀπορίας *add. Meineke ex Ael. Var. hist. 4.23* εἰς ἀπορίαν περιέστησεν 31 Ἐπικλέης *codd., edd.*: Ἐφικλέης *Wehrli — ignoro unde* 32 *post* μετ’ ἀλλήλων *Voss (nisus partim Ael. Var. hist. 4.23)* ἀσωτεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ κατ’ ἐγκράτειαν *supplevit* 34 ἐτελεύτησαν *Schweighäuser*: κατανάλωσαν · ἐτελεύτησαν *A*: ἀπέθανον *E*

43 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.45 533C (BT t.3, p.176.9–14 Kaibel)

59 W Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς, ὡς ἀπήλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν μεθ’ ἡδονῆς βίον προείλετο, ᾤκει τε μετ’ Ἀσπασίας τῆς ἐκ Μεγάρων ἑταίρας καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς οὐσίας εἰς ταύτην κατανάλωσε.

Cf. Ael. Var. hist. 4.23

4 μέρος *om. E*

44 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 12.77 552F (BT t.3, p.219.15–19 Kaibel)

61 W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς Δεινίαν φησὶ τὸν μυροπώλην διὰ τρυφὴν εἰς ἔρωτας ἐμπεσόντα καὶ

secondary to pleasure, and when they had spent everything ended their lives together by drinking hemlock?"

[1] The Persians invaded Euboea for the first time, in 490, see Hdt. 6.101. However, the Persians did not invade Euboea for a second time, cp. *RE* VIII 2, 1908. This part of the story is pure fabrication: E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, Halle 1892 (repr. Hildesheim 1966), 2 vols., II 30 (with n. 2).

[2] For the genealogy of this family, see *PA* 7826: Phainippus had a son Callias I (Davies *APF* 7826, II, p.255). Callias I's son was Hipponicus I (Davies *ibid.* II, p.255), born after 564, with the byname Ammon (Davies *ibid.* IV, p.257–8; Traill *PAA* v. 9: 538905). Hipponicus I Ammon became the father of Callias II, born after 520 (Davies *ibid.* III (A), p. 256; V–VII, p.258–61) with the byname Λακκόπλουτος (Davies *ibid.* VII (C), p.260) who married Epinice, sister of Cimon (Davies *ibid.* V, VI, p.258–9). The son of Callias II Λακκόπλουτος and Epinice was Hipponicus II (Davies *ibid.* VII, VIII (p. 260–1; Traill *PAA* v. 9: 538910) who married Pericles' first wife (Davies *APF* 7826, IX, p.262). Their son was Callias III (born *ca.* 450: Davies *ibid.* IX, p.263); he might not have been "quite as penniless as Herakleides' irresponsible embroidery implied" (Davies *ibid.* VIII, p.261). Through his daughter Hipparete, Hipponicus II became father-in-law of Alcibiades.

43 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.45 533C (*BT* v.3, p.176. 9–14 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus says in his (work) *On Pleasure* that Pericles the Olympian[1] dismissed his wife[2] from his house and preferred the life of pleasure. He lived with Aspasia the hetaira from Megara[3] and spent the better part of his property on her.

[1] Olympian, nickname of Pericles: Plut. *Per.* 8.3; Diodorus 12.40.5; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13. 589D; Schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235E.

[2] The name of Pericles' wife is unknown: Plut. *Per.* 24, 8; Miltner *RE* XIX 749. She was married again, to Hipponicus II, the son of Callias II Λακκόπλουτος (Davies *APF* 7826, IX, p. 262), see n. 2 to **42**.

[3] All other sources (Plut. *Per.* 24.2; Schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235E) state that Aspasia came from Miletus. *Suda* A 4202 (under "Aristophanes") establishes a connection with Megara: on account of Aspasia, Pericles in anger wrote the decree which excluded the Megarians from Athens.

44 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 12.77 552F (*BT* v.3, p.219. 15–19 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in his (work) *On Pleasure* says that Deinias the perfume seller fell into love affairs because of his

πολλὰ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντα, ὡς ἔξω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκταραχθέντα ἐκτεμεῖν αὑτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ταῦτα πάντα ποιούσης τῆς ἀκολάστου τρυφῆς.

1 *De Dinia Aegypto unguentario vid. Strattis PCG (t.7) fr. 34.3–4*

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2 ἔρωτας *Wilamowitz* : ἔρωτα *AE* 4 ἐκτεμεῖν *Kaibel* : ἐκτέμνειν *A* : *correxit E* (ἐξέτεμεν)

45 Plutarchus, Pericles 27.3–4 (BT t.1, fasc. 2, p.31.28–32.15 Ziegler-Gärtner)

60 W Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς χρήσασθαι τὸν Περικλέα τὴν καινότητα θαυμασταῖς, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρ<ασχ>όντος, ὃν χωλὸν ὄντα καὶ φορείῳ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆναι Περιφόρητον.
4 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐλέγχει τοῖς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ‘ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων’ ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμον πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων. τὸν δ’ Ἀρτέμωνά φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ καταπλῆγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι καθέζεσθαι, χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δυεῖν οἰκετῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἄνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθείη προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

1 *Ephorus FGrH 70 F 194* 2 *Artemon: Diod. 12.28.3* 6 *Anacreon PMG 372* ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων *vid. Chamael. SdA (t.9) fr. 36 = fr. 36 Giordano; Diphilus Com. (PCG t.5, p.69) fr. 35; Append. prov. (CPG t.2, p.441) 4.32; schol. Ar. Ach. 850a Wilson*

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1 μηχαναῖς <φησι> *Ziegler* 2–3 παρ<ασχ>όντος *Ziegler* : παρόντος *codd.* : πορίζοντος *Coraes* : παρ<ασκευάζο>ντος *Schütrumpf, coll. Diod. 12.28.3* κατασκευάσαντος 13–14 περιφερόμενον *Aldina Iuntina* : παραφερόμενον *codd.*

indulgence in luxury, and spent lots of money, and when he had gotten over his desires, he was thrown into turmoil by his grief and cut off his genitals: all these things are the product of unbridled indulgence in luxury.

45 Plutarch, *Pericles* 27.3–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.2, p.31.28–32.15 Ziegler-Gärtner)

Ephorus says that Pericles even used siege engines, marvelous in their novelty, provided by the engineer Artemon, who, because he was lame and was carried on a litter to his urgent projects, was called Periphoretus, "Carried Around."[1] However, Heraclides Ponticus[2] refutes this by means of Anacreon's[3] poems, in which 'Artemon Periphoretus'[4] is named many generations before the war at Samos[5] and these affairs. And he says that Artemon was the effeminate sort in his lifestyle, and soft and nervous regarding his fears, and that he sat at home most of the time, while two servants held a bronze shield above his head so that nothing from above would fall on him, and, if he was forced to leave the house, he would be taken in a hammock, carried around just over the ground, and for this reason he was called Periphoretus.

[1] "Carried Around", περιφόρητος — probably in the sense of "notorious": LSJ *s.v.* (II).

[2] Plutarch does not indicate to which of Heraclides' writings the statement belongs; the trait of living in effeminate luxury was dealt with in *On Pleasure*. See **39**.

[3] Cp. C.G. Brown, "From Rags to Riches: Anacreon's Artemon," *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 1–15.

[4] 'Artemon Periphoretus' had become proverbial (cp. Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 850). Ar. *Ach.* 849–50 echoed the proverb when denigrating the comic poet Cratinus (cp. *PCG* vol. 4, Test. 12), replacing "carried" (φορητός, *phoretos)* with "bad" (πονηρός, *poneros,* Anacreon 388.5 *PMG*) to coin a *hapax legomenon* περιπόνηρος (*periponeros).*

[5] This refers to the war at Samos in 440 B.C., see D.M. Lewis, *CAH* V (1992), 143–4.

De Anima (**46–58**)

De mente] **17** (14)
De anima] **17** (15)
seorsum De anima] **17** (16)

46A Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.49.1 (t.1, p.320.1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

98a W Ἡρακλείδης φωτοειδῆ τὴν ψυχὴν ὡρίσατο.

= DG p.388 b9–10 Diels

1 ἡρακλείδ *add. P mg.*: Ἡράκλειτος *codd.*

46B Macrobius, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis 1.14.19 (BT p.59.3–4 Willis)

98b W Heraclides Ponticus (dixit animam) lucem.

Vid. DG p.213–14 Diels

1 Heraclides *Zeunius*: Heraclitus *codd., cf. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.603 (iv)*

46C Tertullianus, De anima 9.5 (p.11.24–9 Waszink)

98c W si enim corpus anima ... proinde et coloris proprietas omni corpori aderit. Quem igitur alium animae aestimabis colorem quam aerium ac lucidum? Non, ut aer sit substantia eius, etsi hoc Aenesidemo visum est et Anaximeni, puto secundum quosdam et Heraclito, nec ut lumen, etsi hoc placuit Heraclidi.

4 *Anaximenes: B 2 (t.1, p.95) DK* 5 *Heraclitus: Sext. Empir. Adv. mathem. 9.360* κατ' ἐνίους Ἡράκλειτος ἀέρα (ἔλεξε πάντων εἶναι ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον)

Psychology (**46–58**)

On Mind] **17** (14)
On Soul] **17** (15)
On Soul in a separate treatise] **17** (16)[1]

[1] For Heraclides' view on the soul, cp. Gottschalk pp. 102–8; I. Kupreeva, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 5.

46A Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.49.1 (v.1, p.320.1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides defined the soul as light-like.[1]

[1] In the doxographical tradition from which Stobaeus drew his material the context of this short text was the question, "whether the soul is a body and what is its essence." (Ps.-Plut., *Opinions of the Philosophers* 4.3 [p. 116 Mau]). Philosophers listed in the previous section believed that the soul was incorporeal, those who follow held that it was corporeal. The doxographical tradition included Heraclides Ponticus among the latter.

46B Macrobius, *Commentary on the* Dream of Scipio 1.14.19 (*BT* p.59.3–4 Willis)

Heraclides Ponticus (said that the soul is) light.

46C Tertullian, *On the Soul* 9.5 (p.11.24–9 Waszink)

But if the soul is a body, without doubt, … accordingly also a character of color will pertain to each body. What color, then, will you believe belongs to the soul other than the color of air and light? Not if[1] air is the substance of the soul, even if Aenesidemus[2] and Anaximenes held this view, and I believe according to some also Heraclitus, nor if light (is its substance), even if Heraclides Ponticus held this view.

[1] Tertullian makes assumptions regarding the color of the soul given the

3 ut aer : uter *A*

46D Theodoretus, Graecarum affectionum curatio 5.18 (BT p.127.8–9 Raeder)

98d W Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Ἵππασος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος πυρώδη ταύτην (scil. τὴν ψυχήν) κεκλήκασιν· ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης φωτοειδῆ.

2 ἡράκλειτος *KBL; vid. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.603 (vii).*

47 Ioannes Philoponus, In Aristotelis De anima commentaria, Prooemium (CAG t.15, p.9.5–7 Hayduck)

99 W τῶν δὲ ἁπλοῦν σῶμα εἰρηκότων τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι οἱ μὲν εἰρήκασιν αἰθέριον εἶναι σῶμα, ταὐτὸν δέ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οὐράνιον, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

Cf. DG p. 214 Diels

48 Plutarchus, De latenter vivendo 6 1130B (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.221.18–222.2 Pohlenz-Westman)

100 W αὐτήν τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων φῶς εἶναι τῇ οὐσίᾳ νομίζουσιν, ἄλλοις τε χρώμενοι τεκμηρίοις καὶ ὅτι τῶν ὄντων μάλιστα τὴν μὲν ἄγνοιαν ἡ ψυχὴ δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀφεγγὲς ἐχθαίρει καὶ ταράττεται <πρὸς> τὰ σκοτεινά, φόβου καὶ ὑποψίας ὄντα πλήρη πρὸς αὐτήν. ἡδὺ δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποθεινὸν οὕτω τὸ φῶς ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν φύσει τερπνῶν ἄνευ φωτὸς ὑπὸ σκότους χαίρειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν διατριβὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, ὥσπερ τι κοινὸν ἥδυσμα καταμιγνύμενον, ἱλαρὰν ποιεῖ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

4 ἐχθαίρει *Wyttenbach* : ἐξαιρεῖ *codd.* πρὸς *add. Reiske* : διὰ *add. Bignone* 6 τὸ *om.* *U*^{1}*Hgc* μὴ δι' ἄλλω τινὶ *y* : μηδὲ ἄλλο τι *O*

different hypotheses which were formulated about its substance.

[2] Aenesidemus was the founder of the Neopyrrhonic school of scepticism, probably in the first century B.C., see *DPhA* 3 E 24.

46D Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 5.18 (*BT* p.127.8–9 Raeder)

Parmenides and Hippasus and Heraclitus have called this (the soul) fire-like, but Heraclides (called it) light-like.

47 John Philoponus, *Commentary on Aristotle's* On Soul I, Prologue (*CAG* v.15 p.9.5–7 Hayduck)

Of those who have stated that the soul is a simple body, some have said it is an airy body, which is the same as to say a heavenly body, for example, as Heraclides Ponticus (did).

48 Plutarch, *Whether "Live Unknown" is a wise Maxim* 6 1130B (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.221.18–222.2 Pohlenz-Westman)

Some of the philosophers[1] believe the soul itself is light in its substance, appealing among other indications to the phenomenon that the soul finds ignorance the most intolerable of all things and hates everything without light and gets troubled at the things (that are) dark, these being full of fear and suspicion for it (the soul), whereas light is so pleasant and desirable to it (the soul) that without light in the darkness it rejoices in no other of the things pleasant by nature, but light, as if it were some universal sweetener when mixed in, makes every pleasure and every pastime and enjoyment cheerful and beneficial to mankind.

[1] Heraclides is not mentioned by name, but this summary most likely reproduces arguments from his work *On Soul*. See Wehrli p. 93.

49 Plutarchus, Camillus 22.2–4 (BT t.1, fasc.1, p.221.15–27 Ziegler)

102 W τοῦ μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ (sc. τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἀλίᾳ ποταμῷ
μάχης) καὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως (scil. Ῥώμης) ἔοικεν ἀμυδρά τις
3 εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ ὁ
Ποντικός, οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος, ἐν
τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συντάγματί φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας λόγον
κατασχεῖν, ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν
ᾑρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που συνῳκημένην περὶ
τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ
πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς
ἁλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην
4 θάλασσαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δ’ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν
πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς . . .

1–2 *Vid. ibid. 18.6–19.1; Diod. 14.114–15; Liv. 5.38–9; 41–3* 3–4 *Heraclides non multum a temporibus proelii ad Alliam commissi (i.e. anno 388 ante Chr.) afuit, i.e. paulo post natus est. De voce* ἀπολείπεσθαι *vid. Voss p.8* 11–12 *Arist. fr. 610* R^3

5 συγγράμματί $S^m Y$ 7 συνῳκημένην : κατῳκημένην *Y*: κατωκειμένην S^m

50 Iamblichus, De anima 26 378 (p.54.1, 4–11 Finamore-Dillon)

97 W ἄλλη τοίνυν αἵρεσις τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ... τιθεμένη ... τὴν ψυχὴν ἀεὶ εἶναι ἐν σώματι, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ καὶ ἄλλων, ἀπὸ σωμάτων αὐτὴν λεπτοτέρων εἰς τὰ ὀστρεώδη πάλιν εἰσοικίζει σώματα. διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μοῖράν τινα τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ, καθήκειν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ στερεὸν σῶμα ἄλλοτε ἀπ’ ἄλλων τοῦ παντὸς τόπων. καὶ τούτους Ἡρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Ποντικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν, ἄλλους δὲ καθ’ ὅλας τοῦ οὐ-

49 Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.2–4 (*BT* v.1, fasc.1, p.221.15–27 Ziegler)

However, it seems that some faint rumor of the calam-
ity there (of the battle at the river Allia) and of the capture (of
3 Rome) reached Greece immediately. For Heraclides Ponticus,
who lived not much later[1] than these times, says in his work *On*
Soul that out of the west a story prevailed that an army from the
Hyperboreans had come from outside and had taken the Greek
city Rome,[2] settled somewhere there on the shores of the Great
Sea. Now I would not be surprised if Heraclides, being a fabulist
and inclined to fiction, had inflated a true story about the capture
4 of the city by adding the Hyperboreans and the Great Sea. But it
is clear that Aristotle[3] the philosopher had heard accurately that
the city was captured by the Gauls, *etc*.

[1] "lived not much later than these times" (οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος), cp. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.18 573b15f.: most sows live roughly 15 years, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν εἴκοσιν ὀλίγον ἀπολείπουσιν, *i.e.*, some fail only by a few years to reach the age of twenty. F. Susemihl, *BPhW* 18. Jahrg., No. 9, pp. 257–8, assumed that Plutarch's expression could as well be understood as meaning that Heraclides was born a few years *earlier*. He adds, however, that Plutarch did not know the year of Heraclides' birth any more than we do.

[2] This refers to the battle at the river Allia in which the Romans fought against the invading Celts and to the capture of Rome in 387 B.C.

[3] Aristotle fr. 610 R^3.

50 Iamblichus, *On the Soul* 26 378 (p.54.1, 4–11 Finamore-Dillon)

Now another school of the Platonists ... positing that the soul is always in a body, such as the school of Eratosthenes[1] and of Ptolemy[2] the Platonist and of others, has it migrate out of lighter bodies back into hard shelled bodies. For it supposedly resides in a certain portion of the perceptible realm, and it arrives back into a solid body at various times from various regions of the universe. Heraclides Ponticus marked off these regions around the Milky Way,[3] others (marked them off) across entire spheres

ρανοῦ τὰς σφαίρας, ἀφ’ ὧν δὴ δεῦρο κατιέναι τὰς ψυχάς·

1 τιθεμένην *FP* : *corr. Heeren* 4 λεπτομερῶν *Meineke*

51 Varro, Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta, fr. 81 (t.1, p.134 Krenkel)

101 W quare Heraclides Ponticos plus sapit, qui praecepit ut comburerent, quam Democritus, qui ut in melle servarent; quem si vulgus secutus esset, peream si centum denariis calicem mulsi emere possemus.

ex Nonio 3 (t.1, p.342.29-33) Lindsay

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1 Ponticos *Bentinus (ed. Aldina Nonii 1526) Mercerus* : pontificos *codd.* 1–2 comburerent *ed. princ. 1511* : combureret *codd.* 4 possemus *Buecheler* : possimus *codd.*

52 Ioannes Philoponus, In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium (CAG t.14, pars 1, p.117.9–12 Hayduck)

96 W ὁ Δαμάσκιος τὴν Ἐμπεδοτίμου περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος (scil. ὑπόθεσιν) οἰκειοῦται, ἔργον αὐτὴν οὐ μῦθον καλῶν. φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁδὸν εἶναι ψυχῶν τὸ γάλα τῶν τὸν Ἅιδην τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ διαπορευομένων.

Comment. in Arist. Meteor. A 8 346a31 3–4 ὁδὸν – διαπορευομένων *iteratum oratione recta p.117.31–2 Hayduck; de via lactea ab animis usitata,*

of the sky, from which, then, the souls come down here.[4]

[1] Eratosthenes of Cyrene, lived *ca.* 275–195 B.C. He was a student of Callimachus and became his successor as the head of the Alexandrian library. *Suda* (E 2898, vol.2, p. 403 Adler) reports that some called him a "second Plato." As a scholar he wrote on literary criticism, philosophy, and mathematics. Important are his contributions to geography, see F. Solmsen, "Eratosthenes as Platonist and Poet," *TAPA* 73, 1942, 192–213 (for Eratosthenes' views on the soul, see pp. 201–5), see *DPhA* 3 E 52.

[2] For Ptolemy the Platonist, cp. A. Dihle, "Der Platoniker Ptolemaios," *Hermes* 85 (1957), 314–25.

[3] For the Milky Way as the resting place of men who are released from their bodies, cp. Cicero, *Rep.* 6.16.1; Manilius, *Astronom.* 1.758–61; Porphyrius, *Antr.* 28; Numenios in: Proclus, *In Plat. Rep.* II p. 128–9 Kroll (cp. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, vol. 2, p. 527 with n. 1).

[4] Cp. Gottschalk pp. 100–2.

51 Varro, *Fragments of Menippean Satires* fr. 81 (v.1, p.134 Krenkel)

For this reason Heraclides Ponticus, who taught that they should cremate (the dead), is wiser than Democritus, who taught that they should preserve them in honey. If the masses had followed him, may I perish if we could buy a cup of honey wine for a hundred denarii.

52 John Philoponus, *Commentary on the First Book of Aristotle's* Meteorology (*CAG* v.14, part 1, p.117.9–12 Hayduck)

Damascius[1] appropriates the hypothesis of Empedotimus[2] concerning the Milky Way, calling it a fact and not a myth. For he says that the Milky Way is the path of souls that travel through the Underworld in the sky.[3]

[1] Damascius (see **58**), a Neoplatonic philosopher, was the last head of the Academy in Athens before it was closed by Justinian in 529 A.D., *DPhA* 2 D 3.

vid. Arist. Meteor. 1.8 345a14–6

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2 ἔργον *Lobeck* : ἄργον *codd.* αὐτὴν *Hayduck* : αὐτὸν *codd.* 3 τὸν Ἅιδην *Lobeck* : ἐν ἅδῃ *codd.*

53 Suda E 1007 s.v. Ἐμπεδότιμος (LG t.2, p.259.16–20 Adler)

92 W Ἐμπεδότιμος· οὗτος ἔγραψε περὶ φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, περὶ οὗ λέγει ὁ Παραβάτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Κρονίοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐμπεδοτίμῳ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ πιστεύοντες οἷς τε ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἔφη.

= Suda I 437 s.v. Ἰουλιανός *(t.2, p.643.4–6) Adler* *3sq. Iulian. Poematia et fragm. 161 (t.1.2) Bidez*

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2 ἀπογραφομένοις *GIT*

54A Proclus, In Platonis Rem publicam commentarii (BT t.2, p.119.18–27 Kroll)

93 W οὔτε τὸ θείας ἀλ<ηθεία>ς τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου πραγμάτων καὶ ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδότιμον λόγος, ὃν Ἡρακλείδης ἱστόρησεν ὁ Ποντικός, θηρῶντα μετ᾽ ἄλλων ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ σταθερᾷ κατά τινα χῶρον αὐτὸν ἔρημον ἀπολειφθέντα λέγων τῆς τε τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐπιφανείας τυχόντα καὶ τῆς Περσεφόνης καταλαμφθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ περιθέοντος κύκλῳ τοὺς θεούς, ἰδεῖν δὲ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ ψυχῶν ἀλήθειαν ἐν αὐτόπτοις θεάμασιν.

Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen, t.2 ([5]1959), p.524–7

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1 ἀλ<ηθεία>ς *supplevit Kroll (cf. schedas A. Maii), incertus an* αὐτοψίας *scribendum sit* : ὑποψίας *Morus*

[2] Empedotimus, the Syracusan, is most likely a fictitious figure, invented by Heraclides Ponticus as an interlocutor in some of his dialogues: Rohde 2, 94 n. 1 (p. 95); Daebritz *RE* VIII 1, 477; Wehrli p. 91; *DPhA* 3 E 22. Hence, texts that mention Empedotimus have been included among the fragments of Heraclides. See Kupreeva, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 5.

[3] This passage is discussed in its larger context by Gottschalk, Append. pp. 149–54.

53 *Suda* E (Epsilon) 1007 under "Empedotimus" (*LG* v.2, p.259. 16–20 Adler)

Empedotimus: he wrote about physics,[1] and about him Julian the Apostate [*Parabates*] in the work entitled *Cronia* says:[2] We trust in Empedotimus and Pythagoras and what Heraclides Ponticus said, taking it from them.

[1] Literally: "lecture on physics" (φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις), cp. the title 148 of Aristotle's works in the list of Hesychius in Rose[3] p. 16.

[2] Julian's work is titled Συμπόσιον ἢ Κρόνια *sive Caesares*. It is called *Cronia* (a festival for Cronus), because Julian opens it with: "Since the god permits (us) to play (for it is *Cronia*) …"

54A Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Republic (*BT* v.2, p.119.18–27 Kroll)

Nor is it impossible that a human soul gained the divine truth of the situation in the Underworld and reported it to humans. This is also shown by the account according to Empedotimus, which Heraclides Ponticus narrated. Heraclides says that while Empedotimus was hunting in some place with other people at high noon, he himself was left alone, and after encountering the epiphany of Pluto and of Persephone the light that runs in a circle around the gods shone down upon him, and through it he saw in visions that he personally experienced the whole truth about souls.

54B Michael Psellus, Orationes 24 (BT p.89.93–6 Littlewood)

καὶ τὸν Ποιμάνδρην τούτου (οὕτω γὰρ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον ἐπέγραφεν) ὡς ὀνειρώττοντα διαπτύετε, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐμπεδοτίμου τοῦ νοῦ ἁρπαγήν, ἣν ἐξαίρει μὲν ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος, Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ἀθετεῖ ὁ φιλόσοφος.

4 *hic locus deest in collectionibus fragmentorum Posidonii editis a Theiler et Edelstein-Kidd*

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2 ἐπέγραφεν : ἐπέγραψεν vel ἐπιγέγραφεν *coni. Boissonade*

54C Michael Psellus, Orationes 1 (BT p.34.892–9 Dennis)

εἰ δὲ πᾶσαν ὅρασιν ἀδιαφόρως δέχῃ, τί μὴ καὶ τοῦ Τρισμεγίστου Ἑρμοῦ, ἣν ὁ Ποιμάνδρης — δαίμων δὲ οὗτος — τούτῳ παρέδειξε; κἀκεῖνα γὰρ φοβερὰ καὶ παράδοξα τὰ ὁράματα, ἀχλὺς καὶ ζόφος βαθὺς καὶ φῶς ἐκφαινόμενον καὶ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς δεικνύμενοι καὶ θεολογούμενοι. τί μὴ καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοτίμου μετεωρισμόν, ὃν ἕτερος δαίμων τούτῳ πεφιλοτίμηται, δι' οὗ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν μυεῖται ἀθανασίαν;

55 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21 133.2 (t.1, p.82.23–8 Stählin-Früchtel)

90 W προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανεῖχεν αἰεὶ Ἄβαρίς τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρειος καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος Ἐπιμενίδης τε ὁ Κρής, ὅστις εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος καὶ Φορμίων ὁ Λάκων, ναὶ μὴν Πολυάρατος ὁ Θάσιος Ἐμπεδότιμός τε ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐπί τε τούτοις Σωκράτης ὁ

54B Michael Psellus, *Oration* 24 (*BT* p.89.93–6 Littlewood)

And you will spit out his Poimander (for this is how he inscribed his own treatise) as a dreamer, as well as the capture of Empedotimus' mind, which Iamblichus exalts, while Posidonius the philosopher athetises.

54C Michael Psellus, *Oration* 1 (*BT* p.34.892–9 Dennis)

And if you accept any vision, indiscriminately, then why not also the one of Hermes Trismegistus, which Poimander (who is a demon) handed over to him; for those are also frightful and wondrous sights, what with the mist and deep darkness, and the light shining out, and father and son showing forth, discussing divine issues. Why not also Empedotimus' rise,[1] which another demon has lavished on him, through which he is initiated into the immortality of the souls?

[1] For the rising of Empedotimus, cp. the account about Aristeas who is often referred to together with Empedotimus (see **55**): the soul left his body and wandered in the air, seeing everything to be seen beneath, fr. 20 (Bolton).

55 Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 133.2 (v.1, p.82.23–8 Stählin-Früchtel)

Also the great Pythagoras devoted himself unceasingly to foreknowledge, as did the Hyperborean Abaris and the Proconnesian Aristeas[1] and the Cretan Epimenides,[2] who arrived at Sparta, and the Mede Zoroaster and the Acragantinian Empedocles[3] and the Spartan Phormion[4] and, yes indeed, Polyaratus of Thasos and the Syracusan Empedotimus[5] and in addition to these, espe-

Ἀθηναῖος μάλιστα.

2 *De Abaride, vid.* **24B** *T v.6* *Aristeas Proconnesius fr. 21 Bolton* 3 *Epimenides: no. 3 (t.1, p.27–37) DK* 4 Zoroastres, vid. **17** (56)

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2 Ἀριστέας *Potter* : ἀρισταίας *L*

56 Proclus, In Platonis Rem publicam commentarii (BT t.2, p.121.24–122.11 Kroll)

91 W καὶ εἰσὶν καὶ ἔσονται πολλαχοῦ γῆς τῶν θείων καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡμῶν ἀλήπτων ἐξηγηταὶ κατά τινας θείας τε καὶ δαιμονίας ἐπιπνοίας· οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος τῶν τοιούτων ἵστορες, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδότιμον λόγος, οἱ δὲ ἄνευ σώματος, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Κλεώνυμον· καὶ πλήρεις αἱ παραδόσεις τούτων. εἰ δὲ <μὴ πλείο>νές εἰσιν αὐτοπτικαὶ τῶν ὄντων ἡμῖν καταλήψεις, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· <σώμα>σι γὰρ χρώμενοι καὶ τούτοις ἐνύλο<ις ὀλίγοι> καὶ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τούτων ἀπολαύειν ἄνθρωποι δύνανται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἐμπεδότιμος σπάνιος καὶ ὁ Κλεώνυμος καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν τοιούτων θεαμάτων λέγεται τυχεῖν. τὸ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐνεργεῖν ὀλίγοις δή τισι καὶ εὐαριθμήτοις ὑπάρχειν εἰκός.

5 *De Cleonymo vid. Clearch. SdA (t.3) fr. 8*

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1 καὶ εἰσὶν *add. m*[3] 6 <μὴ πλείο>νές *add. Kroll* 7 <ἐν> *ante* ἡμῖν *propos. Kroll* <σώμα>σι *supplevit Kroll* 8 ἐνύλο<ις ὀλίγοι> *supplevit Kroll*

cially the Athenian Socrates.

[1] The Proconnesian Aristeas (cp. Pind. fr. 271 Snell-Maehler; Hdt. 4.14–5) was a mythical figure; as servant of Apollo, he accompanied Apollo in the form of a raven. The texts associated with him are collected by Bolton (1962).

[2] Epimenides was a religious figure and became the topic of many legends. According to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 1, he purified Athens after the slaughter of the accomplices of Cylon (second half 7th century B.C.), whereas according to Plato, *Laws* 1 642D, he visited Athens around 500 B.C. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 457. For Epimenides predicting the future, see Diog. Laert. 1.114 (= *FGrH* 457 T 1). He moved to Sparta: *FGrH* 457 T 5f.

[3] For Empedocles of Acragas (Sicily), a Presocratic philosopher of the 5th century B.C., see **63A**, **B**; **82**; **83**; **87**; *DPhA* 3 E 19.

[4] According to Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 392, Phormion was a citizen of Croton. Obeying an oracle, he came to Sparta.

[5] See **52** n. 2.

56 Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Republic (*BT* v.2, p.121.24–122.11 Kroll)

There are and there shall be in many places on the earth interpreters of divine things imperceptible to our senses, as a gift of certain divine and spiritual inspirations. Some have knowledge of these sorts of things with their body, such as, the story says, Empedotimus, and others without the body, such as the Athenian Cleonymus. And the traditions are full of these (stories). But it is no wonder that in actual experience we do not have more personal perceptions of the things that are. For because we use bodies, and these are material, few and far between are the humans capable of enjoying these (perceptions), and for this reason Empedotimus is exceptional, and so is Cleonymus, and anyone else who is said to have encountered these sorts of visions. For it makes sense that the ability to carry on a human life at a level beyond a human being belongs to few people indeed, who can be easily counted.

57 Varro, Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta, fr. 560 (t.3, p.1126–7 Krenkel)

94 W Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotimo cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas vidisse tresque vias: unam ad signum scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur; alteram per limitem, qui est inter leonem et cancrum; tertiam esse inter aquarium et pisces.

ex Servii Commentario in Vergili Georgica 1.34 (p.141.13–19 Thilo)

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1 Empedotimo *Thilo* : empedotim *L* 2 *post* eumque <in caelo> *excidisse suspicatur Thilo*

58 Damascius, In Platonis Phaedonem commentaria D 131 (t.2, p.357–9 Westerink)

95 W ὅτι τριττὴ τῆς γῆς ἡ διαίρεσις. ἡ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς Κρονίδας· ξυνὴ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανός. φησὶν Ὅμηρος, εἰ δὲ κοινή, δῆλον ὅτι μερίζοιτο ἂν εἰς αὐτούς. καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἦν ὁ λέγων καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν διαιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ Ζεύς, πάντως ἂν εἰς τρία διένειμεν τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ὁ Ἐμπεδοτίμου λόγος, ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀπλανῆ, τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὰς μέχρι ἡλίου σφαίρας, τῷ Πλούτωνι τὰς λοιπάς. ἡ δέ ἐστι διαίρεσις τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὸ πᾶν, εἰς τὸ οὐράνιον καὶ χθόνιον καὶ μέσον· καὶ γὰρ Ὀλυμπία Γῆ τετίμηται καὶ χθονία, καὶ μέση ἄρα τις ἂν εἴη.

2–3 *Homerus dicit: Il. 15.193*

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8 ἡ *Finckh* : εἰ *M* 9 εἰ *fort. ante* Ὀλυμπία *addend. Schütrumpf*

De Natura (**59–64**)

De natura] **17** (17)
Res, de quibus secundum physicam scientiam ambigitur] **17** (18)

57 Varro, *Fragments of Menippean Satires* fr. 560 (v.3, p.1126–1127 Krenkel)

Varro nevertheless said that he had read that the mortal vision had been wiped away from a certain Syracusan Empedotimus by the agency of a certain divine power, and that he had seen among other things three doors and three paths, one at the sign of the scorpion (*Scorpio*), by which Heracles is said to have gone to the gods, the second along the boundary that is between the lion (*Leo*) and the crab (*Cancer*), and that the third is between the water bearer (*Aquarius*) and the fishes (*Pisces*).[1]

[1] On this fragment, cp. Wehrli pp. 91–2; Gottschalk pp. 99–100.

58 Damascius, *Commentary on Plato's* Phaedo D 131 (v.2 p.357–9 Westerink)

That the division of the earth is threefold. One (is a division) according to the three sons of Cronus: for the earth and the sky are common to them, Homer says. But if it is common, it is clear that it could be divided among them; and if Poseidon were not the speaker and were not marking off his own realm, but Zeus (were), to be sure he would have apportioned the sky into three parts, as the account of Empedotimus says: for himself the fixed sphere, for Poseidon the (outer) spheres up to the sun, and for Pluto the rest. The (second) is a division of the earth as a whole, into the heavenly and the chthonic and the intermediate: for both an Olympian Ge ("Earth") is honored and a chthonic one, and so there would seem to be an intermediate (Ge) as well.[1]

[1] The third is a division on the analogy of a living being, *i.e.*, with head, middle and feet.

Nature (**59–64**)

On Nature] **17** (17)
On Problems in Natural Philosophy] **17** (18)

De Heraclide Pontico a Platone in physicis differente vid. **79**, et de Timaeo Tauromenitano Heraclidem Ponticum maledicente, quod finxerit hominem de luna cecidisse, vid. **94**

59 Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica 14.23.4 (t.8, pars 2, p.325.4–8 Mras-des Places)

118 W οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους μετονομάσαντες ἀμερῆ φασιν εἶναι σώματα, τοῦ παντὸς μέρη, ἐξ ὧν ἀδιαιρέτων ὄντων συντίθεται τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύεται. καὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ἀμερῶν ὀνοματοποιὸν Διόδωρον γεγονέναι, ὄνομα δέ, φασίν, αὐτοῖς ἄλλο Ἡρακλείδης θέμενος ἐκάλεσεν ὄγκους, παρ' οὗ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐκληρονόμησε τὸ ὄνομα.

6 *Asclepiades Bithyn. cf. Sext. Empir. Adv. phys. 1.363 (t.2, p.287 Mutschmann = Adv. dogm. 3.36); Ps.-Gal. Introductio seu medicus, t.14, p.698 Kühn* κατὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδην στοιχεῖα ἀνθρώπου ὄγκοι θραυστοὶ καὶ πόροι

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3 ἀμερῶν *I*[b] : μερῶν *ON*

60A Ps.-Galenus, De historia philosophica 18 (DG p.610.20–611.1 Diels)

119a W Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς πάντων νομίζουσιν, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθενται τῶν ὅλων, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος τὰς ὁμοιομερείας κτλ.

1 *Democritus, Epicurus, vid. Dionysium Alexandr. De natura 1 (Reliquiae Sacrae t.4, p.394 Routh)* *Democritus vid. 68 B 9 (t.2, p.139.11) DK; A 1 (t.1, p.84.10) DK; 56 (p. 98.27) DK* *Epicur. fr. 267–70 Us.* 2 *Asclepiades vid. T ad* **59** *v.6* 4 *Anaxagoras 59 A 43 (t.2, p.17.19) DK; A 45 (p.18.2; 5) DK*

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1 ἀρχὰς εἶναι *BN* 2 *post* καὶ *add.* ὁ *A* 3 ἀνάρμους : ἀνόρμους *AB, vid. Gottschalk p.38 adn. 3* ὄγκους : ὅρους *B* 4 ὅλων *Diels* : ὅρων *A* : ὡρῶν *B*

On Heraclides Ponticus disagreeing with Plato on matters of physics, see **79**, and on the hostile judgment of Timaeus of Tauromenium concerning Heraclides Ponticus, because he contrived to have a man fall down from the moon, see **94**.

59 Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels* 14.23.4 (v.8, part 2, p.325.4–8 Mras-des Places)

Those who changed the names of atoms say that they are bodies without parts that are parts of the whole, the indivisible elements from which all things are put together and into which all things are dissolved. And they say that the man who named these bodies without parts was Diodorus,[1] and they say that Heraclides gave another name to them and called them particles, and from him Asclepiades[2] the physician too inherited the term.

[1] For Diodorus see **60B**: the one called Cronus. He came from Iasos in Caria, taught philosophy in Athens at the end of the 4th century B.C. and moved to Alexandria (Egypt) in the early 3rd century. He was the teacher of Zeno (see **5** n. 5), see *DPhA* 2 D 124.

[2] Asclepiades of Cius (Prusias ad Mare), Bithynia, was a medical writer and practitioner of the second half of the 2nd century B.C., see **60A**; **B**; **61**; **92**, cp. Diels *DG* p. 185–6; Voss p. 65; *DPhA* 1 A 450.

60A Ps.-Galen, *On the History of Philosophy* 18 (*DG* p.610.20–611.1 Diels)

Democritus and Epicurus believe that the atoms are the primary elements of (the) wholes, but Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades the Bithynian propose that particles without joints[1] are the primary elements of all things, and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (proposes) the things with like parts (*homoeomeries*) *etc*.

[1] "Without joints" (cp. **60B**; **61**), in the sense of "seamless," cp. Gottschalk ch. 3, especially pp. 38–42; Sharples, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chap. 6.

60B Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhonea summaria 3.32 (BT t.1, p.142.21–5 Mutschmann-Mau)

119b W Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀτόμους (scil. εἶπε τὰς ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς εἶναι), Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος ὁμοιομερείας, Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Κρόνος ἐλάχιστα καὶ ἀμερῆ σώματα, Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ Βιθυνὸς ἀνάρμους ὄγκους.

= Sext. Emp. Adv. math. 9.363

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1 *Democritus vid. T ad* **60A** *v.1* *Epicurus vid. T ad* **60A** *v.1* 2 *Anaxagoras vid. T ad* **60A** *v.4* 4 *Asclepiades vid. T ad* **59** *v.6*

61 Sextus Empiricus, Adversus mathematicos 10.318 (BT t.2, p.368 [539.30–540.7] Mutschmann)

120 W ἐξ ἀπείρων δ᾽ ἐδόξασαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων γένεσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν Κλαζομένιον καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἐπίκουρον καὶ ἄλλοι παμπληθεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρας ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς γεννωμένοις, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἐπίκουρον ἐξ ἀνομοίων τε καὶ ἀπαθῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀτόμων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην ἐξ ἀνομοίων μέν, παθητῶν δέ, καθάπερ τῶν ἀνάρμων ὄγκων.

= id. Adversus physicos 2.318; Hippol. Haer. 10.7.5–6 2, 3 Anax*agoras 59 B 1 (t.2, p.32.11) DK; A 1 (ibid. p.16.2)* 2, 4 *Democritus 68 A 1 (t.2, p.84.12) DK; A 37 (ibid. p.93.22)* 2–3, 5 *Epicurus fr. 267–70; 282–7 Us.* 6 *Asclepiades v. T ad* **59** *v.6*

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1 ἐδόξασαν : ἐδογμάτισαν *Hippol.* πραγμάτων : πάντων *Hippol.* 3 *post* παμπληθεῖς *add. Hippol.* ὧν ἐκ μέρους πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν 5 ἐκ *ante* τῶν ἀτόμων *add. Hippol.* 7 μέν *om. Hippol.* ἀνάρμων : ἀνάρχων *P Hippol.*

60B Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 3.32 (*BT* v.1, p.142.21–5 Mutschmann-Mau)

Democritus and Epicurus (said the first material elements were) atoms, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (said) things with like parts (*homoeomeries*), Diodorus, the one called Cronus,[1] (said) the smallest bodies without parts, Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades[2] the Bithynian (said) particles without joints.

[1] Diodorus Cronus, see **59** n. 1.
[2] Asclepiades, see **59** n. 2.

61 Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Mathematicians* 10.318 (*BT* v.2, p.368 [539.30–540.7] Mutschmann)

Anaxagoras of Clazomenae[1] and Democritus and Epicurus, and a multitude of others, believed that the generation of things is from infinite (particles): Anaxagoras on the one hand (believed that things are generated) from things similar to the things generated (from them); but Democritus and Epicurus[1] (believed that things are generated) from dissimilar things, which are incapable of suffering change, that is, the atoms; whereas Heraclides Ponticus and Asclepiades[1] (believed that things are generated) from dissimilar things, but subject to experiencing change, like the particles without joints.[2]

[1] The formula οἱ περὶ often refers simply or primarily to the person(s) named after the preposition.
[2] Cp. Gottschalk pp. 48–56.

62 Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.14.4 (t.1, p.143.22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

121 W Ἡρακλείδης θραύσματα (sc. τὰ ἐλάχιστα ὡρίζετο).

= DG p.312b10 Diels cf. Theophr. De sens. 11 DG p.501.18sq. Diels. Eodem modo elementa apud Empedoclem θραύσματα *appellata sunt: Ps.-Plut. Placita 1.13 883B (= DG p.312a1–3 Diels); Stob. Anth. 1.14.1 (t.1, p.143.15–17) Wachsmuth-Hense, cf. Asclepiades T ad* **59** *v.6*

63A Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 4.9 899F (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.120.6–8 Mau)

122a W Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἡρακλείδης παρὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόρων τὰς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεις γίνεσθαι τοῦ οἰκείου τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἑκάστῃ ἁρμόζοντος.

= DG p.397a1–4 Diels

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3 ἑκάστης *ΜΠ*

63B Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.50.22 (t.1, p.475.18–22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

122b W Παρμενίδης, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος, Ἡρακλείδης παρὰ τὰς συμμετρίας τῶν πόρων τὰς κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήσεις γίνεσθαι, τοῦ οἰκείου τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἑκάστου ἑκάστῃ ἐναρμόττοντος.

= DG p.397b1–6 Diels 1 *Parmenides vid. 28 A 47 (t.1, p.226.22–4) DK Empedocles vid. 31 A 86 (t.1, p.301.26; 302.17) DK; A 90 (ibid. p.306.30–2); A 92 (ibid. p.307.4–5) Democritus vid. 68 A 135 (t.2, p.120.28; 122.13) DK* 2 *de Epicuri doctrina sensus videndi v. fr. 317–19 Us., cf. Asclepiad. ap. Sext. Empir. Adv. mathem. III (= Adv. geometr.) 5*

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2 παρὰ *Ps.-Plut. (***63A***)* : περὶ *L* 4 ἑκάστῃ *Meineke ex Ps.-Plut. (***63A***)* : ἑκάστην *L* ἀναρμόττοντος *L* : *corr. Diels DG p. 397, cf. Gottschalk p. 53 adn. 52.*

62 Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.14.4 (v.1, p.143.22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides (defined the smallest things as) fragments.

63A Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 4.9 899F (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.120.6–8 Mau)

Empedocles (and) Heraclides said that individual sense perceptions occur on account of the (differing) symmetries of the pores, with what is peculiar to (each) of the objects of perception being in harmony with each of the symmetries.

63B Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.50.22 (v.1, p.475.18–22 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Epicurus (and) Heraclides (said) that individual sense perceptions occur on account of the (differing) symmetries of the pores, with each of the objects of perception being in harmony with each of the symmetries.[1]

[1] Cp. Gottschalk p. 53.

64 Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrepticus ad Graecos 5.66.4 (p. 100.16–101.19; 22–6 Marcovich)

123 W οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου μνησθῆναι. καὶ ὅ γε τῆς αἱρέσεως πατήρ, τῶν ὅλων οὐ νοήσας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καλούμενον 'ὕπατον' ψυχὴν εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς οἴεται˙ τουτέστι τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ψυχὴν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτὸς αὑτῷ περιπείρεται ... ὁ δὲ Ἐρέσιος ἐκεῖνος Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος πῇ μὲν οὐρανόν, πῇ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸν θεὸν ὑπονοεῖ. Ἐπικούρου μὲν γὰρ μόνου καὶ ἑκὼν ἐκλήσομαι, ὃς οὐδὲ<ν> μέλειν οἴεται τῷ θεῷ, διὰ πάντων ἀσεβῶν. τί γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός; [οὐκ] ἔσθ' ὅπῃ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ Δημοκρίτου καὶ αὐτὸς κατασύρεται εἴδωλα;

3 ὕπατον *Hom. Il. 8.22* Ζῆν' ὕπατον μήστωρ'*; Xenocrat. fr. 216 Isnardi Parente; Arist. De motu anim. 4.700a1; Ps.-Arist. De mundo 6.397b24–7* 5 (ὁ) – 7 (ὑπονοεῖ) *Theophr. fr. 252B FHS&G* 7–9 *Epicur. fr. 368 (p.247.19–21) Us., cf. Clem. Strom. 1.50.6* φιλοσοφίαν ... τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ... πρόνοιαν ἀναιροῦσαν 10 *Democritus*: *deest in DK vol.2*

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8 οὐδὲ<ν> *Lowth*: οὐδὲ P^1 10 οὐκ P^1 *m*: *om. Staehlin, del. Wehrli, cf. Gottschalk p.97 adn. 28.*

De Astronomia (**65–78**)

De iis, quae sunt in caelo, liber unus] **17** (21)

65A Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica 15.58.3 (t.8, pars 2, p.419. 14–16 Mras-des Places)

104 W Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἔκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μήν γε μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς, τροχοῦ δίκην στρεφομένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατο-

64 Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 5.66.4 (p.100.16–101.19; 22–6 Marcovich)

Since I have come this far, I think it would not be at all difficult to recall the Peripatetics as well. Indeed the father of the school, because he did not know the father of all things as a whole, thinks that the one who is called "highest" is the soul of everything; that is to say, by taking the soul of the universe (to be a) god he contradicts himself. … And the well known Eresian, Theophrastus the pupil of Aristotle, suggests in one place that the god is heaven and in another place that he is breath. Epicurus alone I will utterly ignore, and intentionally, since he thinks that the god does not care about anything, impious as he is throughout his work. What about Heraclides Ponticus? Is there any place where also he is not drawn away to the images[1] of Democritus?

[1] See Gottschalk pp. 97–8.

Astronomy[1] (**65–78**)

On the Things in Heaven, one book] **17** (21)

[1] See Gottschalk ch. 4, pp. 60–87. Some of the fragments presented in this section are treated in their wider context in the papers by Bowen and Todd, *RUSCH* vol. XV, chaps. 8 and 9.

65A Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels* 15.58.3 (v.8, part 2, p.419.14–16 Mras-des Places)

Heraclides Ponticus and Ecphantus the Pythagorean make the earth move, not from one place to another but in revolution, turning like a wheel, from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around

λὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὑτῆς κέντρον.

= Ecphantus 51 (t.1, p.442) DK. Reliquias doctrinae Ecphanto adscriptas collegit Voss p.63–4, Ecphantum personam dialogi Heraclidis De natura arbitrans, at vid. Gottschalk p.44 cum adn. 26

65B Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 3.13 896A (BT t.5, fasc. 2, pars 1, p.108.5–8 Mau)

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἔκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μήν γε μεταβατικῶς, <ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς,> τροχοῦ δίκην ἐνηξονισμένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὑτῆς κέντρον.

= DG 378a10–15 Diels 2–3 ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς *add. Diels ex Eusebio (***65A***)* 3 ἐνηξονισμένην (ἐναξονίζω) *Reiske* : ἐνιζωνισμένην *M* : ἐνιζομένην *Π* : ἐνι – *spatio 4 litt. relicto* 𝔐

65C Ps.-Galenus, De historia philosophica 84 (DG p.633.11–13 Diels)

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μένειν τὴν γῆν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Φιλόλαος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κύκλῳ περιφέρεσθαι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς κινητὴν τὴν γῆν, † ὡρισμένην † ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς † κίνημα †.

3 πόντιος *AB* ὡρισμένην *reliquum esse ab* ἐνηξονισμένην *suspicatur Diels* 4 κίνημα *codd.* : κέντρον *propos. Gottschalk p.155, cf.* **65A,B** *v.4*

66 Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria 4.281E (BT t.3, p.138.6–11 Diehl)

105 W ποῦ δὴ οὖν εὔλογον ἡμᾶς 'ἰλλομένην' ἀκούσαντας εἱλουμένην καὶ στρεφομένην αὐτὴν (scil. τὴν γῆν) ποιεῖν, ὡς Πλάτωνι ἀρέσκον λέγοντας; Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν ὁ Ποντικός, οὐ Πλάτωνος ὢν ἀκουστής, ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν δόξαν, κινῶν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν. Πλάτων δὲ ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν

its own center.

65B Ps.-Plutarch, *Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.13 896A (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.108.5–8 Mau)

Heraclides Ponticus and Ecphantus the Pythagorean make the earth move, not from one place to another <but in revolution>, from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around its own center, fitted with an axle like a wheel.

65C Ps.-Galen, *On the History of philosophy* 84 (*DG* p.633.11–13 Diels)

The others believe that the earth remains (in its place), whereas the Pythagorean Philolaus (believes) that it moves around in a circle. Heraclides Ponticus, however, (believes) that the earth moves, †in a defined manner† from sunset (west) to sunrise (east) around its own †movement†.

66 Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 4.281E (*BT* v.3, p.138. 6–11 Diehl)

Where then is it reasonable for us, upon hearing that it (the earth) is 'being wound round,' to make it revolve and turn, as if saying something pleasing to Plato? Well, let Heraclides Ponticus, not being a student of Plato,[1] hold this opinion, moving the

ἵστησιν.

*Comment. in Plat. Tim. 40B8–C3 (*ἰλλομένην *ibi B8)*

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4 οὐ *codd.*: ὁ coni. *Fabricius*: τοῦ *coni. Taylor, at cf. Voss p. 13 adn. 1*

67 Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.13 (CAG t.7, p.519.9–11 Heiberg)

106 W ἐν τῷ κέντρῳ δὲ οὖσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ κύκλῳ κινουμένην, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἠρεμεῖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ὑποθέμενος σώζειν ᾤετο τὰ φαινόμενα.

Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.13 293b30

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2 ἠρεμοῦντα *c*

68 Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.14 (CAG t.7, p.541.28–542.2 Heiberg)

107 W εἰ δὲ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον (sc. ἐκινεῖτο ἡ γῆ), ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ὑπετίθετο, τῶν οὐρανίων ἠρεμούντων, εἰ μὲν πρὸς δύσιν, ἐκεῖθεν ἂν ἐφάνη τὰ ἄστρα ἀνατέλλοντα, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολάς, εἰ μὲν περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ πόλους, οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ διαφόρων ὁρίζοντος τόπων ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλάνητες ἀνέτελλον, εἰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, οὐκ ἂν οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ τόπων ἀνέτελλον, ὥσπερ νῦν. εἴτε δὲ περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ εἴτε περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθη τῶν πλανωμένων ἡ εἰς τὰ ἑπόμενα ζῴδια μετάβασις ἀκινήτων τῶν οὐρανίων ὄντων;

Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.14 297a2 4–5 *cf.* **69** *vv.7–9*

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4 εἰ – 6 ἀνέτελλον *F*: *om. Ab* 8 περὶ *F*: καὶ *A*: καὶ περὶ *proposuit Heiberg*

earth in a circle. Plato makes it stand unmoved.

[1] The statement that Heraclides Ponticus was not a student of Plato is contradicted by almost all other testimonia; see the testimonia to **1**.4–5. E. Schwartz (*Hermes* 44 [1909], 481 n. 1 [p.482]) calls it a biased distortion [“tendenziöse Verdrehung”]. Perhaps the statement means no more than that on this specific issue Heraclides did not follow Platonic teaching; see **79**. But ἀκουστής seems to speak against this explanation.

67 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* On the Heaven 2.13 (*CAG* v.7, p.519.9–11 Heiberg)

In proposing that the earth is at the center and moving in a circle, and that the sky is at rest, Heraclides Ponticus thought he was preserving the natural phenomena.

68 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* On the Heaven 2.14 (*CAG* v.7, p.541.28–542.2 Heiberg)

But if (the earth moved) in a circle around its center, as Heraclides Ponticus proposed, while the celestial bodies were at rest, (it would move either toward sunset [west] or toward sunrise [east]). If (the earth moved) toward sunset (west), then the stars would appear rising from there; if (the earth moved) toward sunrise (east), (then the stars would appear rising either around the poles of the equinoctial circle [equator] or around the poles of the zodiac). If (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator), then the sun and the other planets would not rise from different places on the horizon. If (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the zodiac, the fixed stars would not rise always from the same places, as they do. And whether (the stars appeared rising) around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator) or around the poles of the zodiac, how would the movement of the wandering bodies into the following signs of the zodiac be preserved, if the celestial bodies are motionless?

69 Simplicius, In Aristotelis libros De caelo commentaria 2.7 (CAG t.7, p.444.31–445.3 Heiberg)

108 W ὑποθέσεως δὲ ἠξίωσε (sc. Ἀριστοτέλης) καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων (sc. τοῦ τε ἀπλανοῦς οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων) ἠρεμούντων, καίτοι ἀπεμφαῖνον δοκοῦν τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν φαινομένην αὐτῶν μετάβασιν ἀμφοτέρων ἠρεμούντων, διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι τινάς, ὧν Ἡρακλείδης τε ὁ Ποντικὸς ἦν καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος, νομίζοντας σώζεσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄστρων ἠρεμούντων, τῆς δὲ γῆς περὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ πόλους ἀπὸ δυσμῶν κινουμένης ἑκάστης ἡμέρας μίαν ἔγγιστα περιστροφήν· τὸ δ' ἔγγιστα πρόσκειται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς μιᾶς μοίρας ἐπικίνησιν.

Comment. in Arist. De caelo 2.7 289b1 6 *Aristarchus, vid. Plut. De fac. in orbe lun. 6 923A*

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3 τὸ *F Guilelmus de Moerbeka* : τῷ *A*

70 Calcidius, In Platonis Timaeum commentarius 110 (p.157.6–10 Waszink)

109 W denique Heraclides Ponticus, cum circulum Luciferi describeret, item solis, et unum punctum atque unam medietatem duobus daret circulis, demonstravit ut interdum Lucifer superior, interdum inferior sole fiat. Ait enim et solem et lunam et Luciferum et omnes planetas, ubi eorum quisque sit, una linea a puncto terrae per punctum stellae exeunte demonstrari.

1 Heraclides : heraclιτes *C*

71 Geminus apud Simplicium, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros commentaria 2.2 (CAG t.9, p.292.15–26 Diels)

110 W οἷον διὰ τί ἀνωμάλως ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ πλάνητες φαίνονται κινούμενοι; ὅτι εἰ ὑποθώμεθα ἐκκέντρους αὐτῶν

69 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* On the Heaven 2.7 (*CAG* v.7, p.444.31–445.3 Heiberg)

He (Aristotle) deemed worth supposing also the view that both (the fixed heaven and the fixed stars) do not move, although it seems absurd that their apparent motion would be preserved if both are at rest, because there have been some, including Heraclides Ponticus and Aristarchus,[1] who believed they were preserving the natural phenomena if the heaven and the stars do not move, but the earth is moving from the sunset (west) each day around the poles of the equinoctial circle (equator) each day in as close as possible to one rotation. The "as close as possible" is added because of the additional motion of the sun by one part.

[1] Aristarchus of Samos was an astronomer of the first half of the 3rd century B.C. He was the first to develop the heliocentric hypothesis according to which the sun remains unmoved whereas the earth moves around it in a circle, see *DPhA* 1 A 345.

70 Calcidius, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus 110 (p.157.6–10 Waszink)

Finally, when Heraclides Ponticus described the orbit of Venus, and likewise of the sun, and attributed one point and one middle to the two orbits, he demonstrated that Venus is sometimes above the sun and sometimes below.[1] For he said that the sun and the moon and Venus and all the planets, wherever each of them might be, are proven to be on a single line running out from a point of the earth through a point of the star.[2]

[1] "Above" and "below" the sun, *i.e.*, "'ahead of' and 'behind' the sun in longitude," Gottschalk p. 77.
[2] For a comprehensive discussion, see Gottschalk pp. 69–81.

71 Geminus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's* Physics 2.2 (*CAG* v.9, p.292,15–26 Diels)

For example, why do the sun and the moon and the planets clearly move irregularly? Because if we suppose that their orbits

τοὺς κύκλους ἢ κατ' ἐπίκυκλον πολούμενα τὰ ἄστρα, σωθήσεται ἡ φαινομένη ἀνωμαλία αὐτῶν, δεήσει τε ἐπεξελθεῖν, καθ' ὅσους δυνατὸν τρόπους ταῦτα ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα, ὥστε ἐοικέναι τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἐνδεχόμενον τρόπον αἰτιολογίᾳ τὴν περὶ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων πραγματείαν. διὸ καὶ παρελθών τις φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός, ὅτι καὶ κινουμένης πως τῆς γῆς, τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου μένοντός πως, δύναται ἡ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον φαινομένη ἀνωμαλία σῴζεσθαι. ὅλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀστρολόγου τὸ γνῶναι, τί ἠρεμαῖόν ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποῖα τὰ κινητά, ἀλλὰ ὑποθέσεις εἰσηγούμενος τῶν μὲν μενόντων, τῶν δὲ κινουμένων σκοπεῖ, τίσιν ὑποθέσεσιν ἀκολουθήσει τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαινόμενα.

Comment. in Arist. Phys. 2.2, 193b23 = Posidonius fr. 18 vv. 32-45 Edelstein-Kidd

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1 πλανήτης *(om.* οἱ*) F Aldina* 8 ἔλεγεν *ante* ὅτι *add. Aldina (fortassse antiquioribus codicibus depromptum, Diels CAG t.9, praef. p.VII, at cf. Gottschalk pp.64–6)* 9–10 πῶς δύναται *DEF* 11 γὰρ : δὲ *F Aldina*

72 Cicero, De natura deorum 1.13.34 (BT p.14.32–15.6 Plasberg-Ax)

111 W ex eadem Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides puerilibus fabulis refersit libros, et tamen modo mundum tum mentem divinam esse putat, errantibus etiam stellis divinitatem tribuit sensuque deum privat et eius formam mutabilem esse vult, eodemque in libro rursus terram et caelum refert in deos.

1 *De Heraclide Pontico discipulo Platonis vid. T ad* **1** *v.4–5*

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2 mundum <deum> *Walker*

do not have the earth at their center, or that the stars go around in an epicycle, their apparent irregularity will be preserved, and then it will be necessary to discuss fully in how many ways it is possible for these phenomena to be realized, so that the treatment of the wandering stars is fitted to the explanation of causes in a way that is possible. For this reason, a certain Heraclides Ponticus, who had come forward, says[1] that if the earth is somehow moving and the sun is somehow standing still, the apparent irregularity concerning the sun can be preserved.[2] For in general it is not the task of the astronomer to know what is at rest by nature and what sorts of things are moveable, but to introduce hypotheses about some which stand still and others which move, and to inquire with which hypotheses the phenomena in the sky agree.[3]

[1] For this translation, rather than "someone came forward, says Heraclides Ponticus, (saying)", see Gottschalk p. 64–6.

[2] For the problems of this account, see Gottschalk pp. 66–8.

[3] Simplicius states that either Geminus or Posidonius as summarized in the epitome by Geminus explained the difference between the study of nature (*physiologia)* and astronomy in the way presented.

72 Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 1.13.34 (*BT* p.14.32–15.6 Plasberg-Ax)

From the same school of Plato, Heraclides Ponticus stuffed his books with childish tales, and yet sometimes he believes the world is divine, sometimes the mind. He assigns divinity even to the wandering stars, and he deprives the god of sensation and wants his form to be changeable. And again in the same book he places (the) earth and sky among the gods.[1]

[1] The Epicurean Velleius (*RE* VIII A, 1, col. 637, no. 1) is speaking (1.8.18–20.56) — for Epicurean criticism of Heraclides see **1** (92); **14**; **15**. Therefore, it is not "Cicero" who "dismissed a number of his (*scil*. Heraclides') stories as 'pueriles fabulas' " (J. Bollansée, *FGrH* IVA, fasc. 3, 507 n. 232). Cp. Gottschalk pp. 96–7.

73 Minucius Felix, Octavius 19.9 (BT p.17.5–9 Kytzler)

Aristoteles variat et adsignat tamen unam potestatem; nam interim mentem, mundum interim deum dicit, interim mundo deum praeficit. Theophrastus etiam variat, alias mundo, alias menti divinae tribuens principatum, Heraclides Ponticus quoque mundo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit.

Theophr. ad fr. 252a FHS&G

3–5 praeficit aristoles (Aristoteles *r*) ponticus variat alias mundo alias menti divinae tribuens principatum heraclides ponticus quoque de deo divinam mentem quamvis varie adscribit. theofrastus et zenon et crysippus et cleanthes *P*: Theophrastus et (etiam *Vahlen*) *deletis verbis* aristoles ponticus *transp. Roeren, coll. Cic. De nat. deor. 1.35* 5 mundo *Sauppe* : ei *Schöne* : de deo *P, cf. Gottschalk pp.156–7*

74 Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.21.3a (t.1, p.182.20–1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

112 W Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἄπειρον τὸν κόσμον.

= DG p.328b5–7 Diels Seleucus, vid. Ps.-Plut. Placita 2.1 886C (p.80.7 Mau) = DG p. 328a5 Diels

75A Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 2.13 888F (BT t.5, fasc. 2, pars 1, p.87.9–12 Mau)

113a W Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, γῆν περιέχοντα ἀέρα τε [καὶ αἰθέρα] ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς φέρεται. κοσμοποιοῦσι γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων.

= Stob. Eclog. 1.24 (t.1, p.204.22–5) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.343 Diels 3 *Orphici: fr. 22 Kern, cf. fr. 91*

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2 καὶ αἰθέρα *secl. Diels (DG p.343), ea verba pro varia lectione vocum* ἀέρα τε *habens, cf.* **75C**;**D**

73 Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 19.9 (*BT* 17.5–9 Kytzler)

Aristotle gives various explanations and nevertheless assigns a single power; for at times he calls the universe, at other times the mind god, at still other times he places god (as ruler) over the world. Theophrastus also gives various explanations when he at times attributes the ruling role to the universe, at other times to the divine mind. Heraclides as well ascribes to the universe a divine mind, although in various senses.

74 Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.21.3a (v.1, p.182.20–1 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Seleucus of Erythrae and Heraclides Ponticus (said) the universe (was) infinite.

75A Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 2.13 888F (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.87.9–12 Mau)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans (say) that each of the stars[1] is a world, containing land and air [and aether] in the infinite aether. These doctrines are circulated in the Orphic writings. For they make a world out of each of the stars.

[1] With "stars" Heraclides must refer to the planets; see Wehrli, p. 99.

75B Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica 15.30.8 (t.8, pars 2, p.404. 15–17 Mras-des Places)

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, περιέχοντα αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐμφέρεται κοσμοποιοῦσι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων.

1 δὲ καὶ *B*

75C Ps.-Galenus, De historia philosophica 52 (DG p.624.15–19 Diels)

113c W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι νομίζουσιν γῆν περιέχοντα καὶ αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἀέρι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δόγματα ἐν ἐνίοις Ὀρφικοῖς φέρεσθαι λέγουσι κοσμοποιοῦσι τῶν ἀστέρων ἕκαστον.

2–3 αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἀέρι *codd.* : ἀέρα ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι *Wehrli fr. 113c (cf.* **75A***)*

75D Theodoretus, Graecarum affectionum curatio 4.20 (BT p.105. 13–15 Raeder)

113b W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινὲς ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν φασί, γῆν περιέχοντα καὶ ἀέρα.

1 οἱ ἄλλοι *BL*[1]

76A Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 2.25 891C (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.95.3 Mau)

114a W Ἡρακλείδης γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 Ἡρακλείδης *Fabricius ex Stob. (***76B***), vid. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.603 (vii)* : Ἡράκλειτος *codd.*

75B Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 15.30.8 (v.8, part 2, p.404.15–17 Mras-des Places)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans (say) that each of the stars is a world, containing aether in the infinite (sky). These doctrines are circulated in the Orphic writings, which make a world out of each of the stars.

75C Ps.-Galen, *On the History of Philosophy* 52 (*DG* p.624.15–19 Diels)

Heraclides and the Pythagoreans believe each of the stars is a world, containing land and aether in the infinite air. And people say that these doctrines are circulated in a number of Orphic writings, which make a world out of each of the stars.

75D Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 4.20 (*BT* p.105.13–15 Raeder)

Heraclides and certain others among the Pythagoreans say that each of the stars exists as a world, containing land and air.

76A Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 2.25 891C (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.95.3 Mau)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.

76B Stobaeus, Anthologium 1.26 (t.1, p.218.18–19 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ὄκελλος γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 καὶ Ὄκελλος *del. Diels, DG p.356b25, cf. p.100 adn. 1; 216 adn. 2*

76C Theodoretus, Graecarum affectionum curatio 4.23 (BT p.106.12 Raeder)

114b W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιεχομένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

1 ἡράκλειτος *MC*

76D Ioannes Lydus, De Mensibus 3.12 (BT p.53.12 Wünsch)

114c W Ἡρακλείδης γῆν ὁμίχλῃ περιειλημένην (scil. τὴν σελήνην εἶναι).

= DG p.356, Testim. Plutarchi no. 13 Diels

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1 Ἡρακλείδης *scripsi* : ἡράκλειτος *codd.*

77 Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 3.2 893C (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.101.13–17 Mau)

116 W Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς νέφος μετάρσιον ὑπὸ μεταρσίου φωτὸς καταυγαζόμενον (scil. τὸν κομήτην εἶναί φησιν). ὁμοίως δ’ αἰτιολογεῖ πωγωνίαν ἅλω δοκίδα κίονα καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις, καθάπερ ἀμέλει πάντες οἱ Περιπατητικοί, παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ νέφους ταυτὶ γίνεσθαι σχηματισμούς.

= DG p.366a21–367a3 Diels; Stob. Eclog. 1.28 (t.1, p.227.24–228.3) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.366b29–367a2 Diels

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5 τοὺς *om. Marcian. 521* ταυτὶ *corrector Vossiani* : ταύτη *ABC* : ταῦτα *Stobaeus l.l.*

76B Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.26 (v.1, p.218.18–19 Wachsmuth-Hense)

Heraclides and Ocellus[1] (say the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.

[1] Ocellus of Lucania was a Pythagorean philosopher who belonged perhaps to the 1st century B.C. The testimonia are collected in DK v.1, no. 48 (p. 440–1).

76C Theodoretus, *Treatment of Greek Diseases* 4.23 (*BT* p.106.12 Raeder)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land surrounded by mist.

76D John Lydus, *On the Months* 3.12 (*BT* p.53.12 Wünsch)

Heraclides (says the moon is) a land enclosed by mist.

For the verdict by Timaeus of Tauromenium about Heraclides Ponticus, who wrote that a man fell from the moon, see **94**.

77 Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.2 893C (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.101.13–17 Mau)

Heraclides Ponticus says (a comet is) a cloud up in the air illuminated by a light up in the air. In like manner, he gives as the cause of a bearded star, a halo, a meteor in the shape of a beam, a meteor in the shape of a column, and (the) things related to these, just like, of course, all the Peripatetics, that these (phenomena) occur varying with the configurations of the cloud.

78 Ps.-Plutarchus, Placita philosophorum 3.17 897B (BT t.5, fasc.2, pars 1, p.111.9–14 Mau)

117 W Ἀριστοτέλης Ἡρακλείδης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πνευμάτων κινοῦντος καὶ συμπεριφέροντος (scil. ἄμπωτιν καὶ πλήμμυραν γίνεσθαι)· ὑφ' ὧν ἐμβαλλόντων μὲν προωθουμένην ἀνοιδεῖν τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ κατασκευάζειν τὴν πλήμμυραν, καταληγόντων δ' ἀντιπερισπωμένην ὑποβαίνειν, ὅπερ εἶναι τὴν ἄμπωτιν.

= Stob. Eclog. 1.38 (t.1, p.252.7–12) Wachsmuth-Hense; DG p.382a/b 17 sqq. Diels 1 *Aristoteles, at vid. Rose*[2] *p.604. De origine ventorum sec. Aristotelem vid. Meteor. 2.4–6*

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1 Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης *Stob. l.l* 3–4 προωθουμένων *Marcian. 521* 4–5 κατασκευάζειν *Diels ex Ps.-Gal. Hist. philos. 88 (DG p.634.13 Diels)* : παρασκευάζειν *codd.*

De Inferis (**79–80**)

De iis, quae sunt apud inferos] **17** (22)

De tragico modo dicendi in libro Heraclidis De iis, quae sunt apud inferos, usitato vid. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 5.88 (= **1**)

79 Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6, fasc.2, p.189.11–19 Pohlenz-Westman)

68 W ποῦ γὰρ ὢν τῆς ἀοικήτου τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφες, ἵνα ταῦτα
(71 W) συντιθεὶς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων (scil. τῶν Περιπατητικῶν) συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ψυχῆς, Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Φυσικούς, Ἡρακλείδου δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην, τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου, τὸ Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ Περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ

78 Ps.-Plutarch, *The Opinions of the Philosophers* 3.17 897B (*BT* v.5, fasc.2, part 1, p.111.9–14 Mau)

Aristotle[1] (and) Heraclides (say) that (low tide and flood tide occur) under the influence of the sun, which sets in motion and carries around with it most of the winds. Pushed forward by the blowing winds, the Atlantic sea swells up and produces the flood tide, and when they cease the sea is drained off and recedes, which is the low tide.

[1] See V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* p. 604.

Underworld (**79–80**)

On the Things in the Underworld] **17** (22)

Concerning the tragic mode of expression used in Heraclides' *On the Things in the Underworld*, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.88 (= **1**).

79 Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.189.11–19 Pohlenz-Westmann)

Where, then, in the uninhabited world were you when you wrote the book, that in composing these attacks you could not come across the writings (*i.e.* of the Peripatetics) and pick up Aristotle's works *On Heaven* and *On Soul*, Theophrastus' *In Reply to the Natural Philosophers*, Heraclides' *Zoroaster*, *On the Things in the Underworld* and *On Problems in Natural Philosophy*, or Dicaearchus' *On Soul*, in which these writers do not stop opposing and battling with Plato[1] on the greatest and

Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι;

4–5 *Theophr. fr. 245 FHS&G* 5–6 *Heraclides, Zoroaster:* **17** (56) 6 *De iis quae sunt apud inferos:* **17** (22) *De quibus secundum physicam scientiam ambigitur:* **17** (18) 7 *Dicaearch. fr. 13 Mirhady*

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5 ἡρακλείτου *EB corr. Reiske (v. J. Bernays, GesAbh, t.1, pp.42–5); v. Marcovich, Heraclitus, 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p. 602* (i)

80 Ps.-Plutarchus, De libidine et aegritudine 5 (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.54. 10–20 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

72 W ἔνιοι δ' ἄντικρυς καὶ δόξαν καὶ διαλογισμὸν εἰς τὸ σῶμα κατατείνουσιν, οὐδ' εἶναι αἰτίαν <τὸ> παράπαν ψυχῆς λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ σώματος διαφορᾷ καὶ ποιότητι καὶ δυνάμει συντελεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ οὐσίᾳ παρυπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται ὁ λόγος, οἱ μὲν οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν Ἡρακλείδου νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἀντιπαρεξαγωγὴν <συν>τετάχθαι τῶν εἰρημένων ἑτέροις περὶ οὐσίας ψυχῆς. ὅτῳ <δ' οὖν> γεγραμμένον, ἄντικρυς ἀναιρεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς, ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς εἰρημένας δυνάμεις πάσας.

4–5 *De iis, quae sunt apud inferos:* **17** (22) 9 (ἀναιρεῖ)–10 *cf. Plut. Non posse suaviter vivi sec. Epicur. 14 1096E (...* σαρκοποιεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ποιοῦσι, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσίαν ἀναιροῦντες*); C. Colot. 21 1119A (*ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐσία ψυχῆς ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα κεκραμένον ἔσχηκε τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ ζῆν δύναμιν*)*

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2 αἰτίαν *codd.*: οὐσίαν *Pohlenz, probante Sandbach 1969, p.46 (cf. supra T ad vv. 9–10)* τὸ *add. Bernardakis* ψυχῆς *hIk*: ψυχὴν *Bernardakis Wehrli (*αἰτίαν *retinens)* 3–4 δυνάμει συντελεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα *codd.*: [καὶ] δυνάμεις συντελεῖσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας *Corssen, RhM 67 (1912), 27, cf. vv.10–11; Plut. C. Colot. 21 1119A (*τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ ζῆν δύναμιν*)* 5–6 παρυπάρχ αὐτοφαίνεται *h*: παρυπάρχειν αὐτὸς φαίνεται *k*: παρυπάρχων αὐτὸ φαίνεται *i* 6 οἱ μὲν οὖν δεινοὶ τὸ *codd*: *corr. Wyttenbach* 8 <συν>τετάχθαι *Wyttenbach*: τετάχθαι *codd.* 9 ὅτῳ <δ' οὖν> *Pohlenz*: ὅτῳ δὴ *Duebner*: οὕτω *codd.*

most decisive issues of natural philosophy?

[1] On Heraclides disagreeing with Plato, see **66** n. 1.

80 Plutarch, *Whether Desire and Grief Belong to Mind or Body* 5 (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.54.10–20 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

But some extend both belief and calculation outright to the body, saying that there is absolutely no cause on the part of (the) soul, but that these sorts of faculties come about by the specific form and quality of the body. For some believe that the book entitled *On the Things in the Underworld*, in which the argument shows that the soul is present along with the substantial being, is not at all the work of Heraclides, while others say it has been composed as a controversial attack against the things said by others about the substantial being of (the) soul. But, whoever wrote it, it removes outright the substantial being of it (the soul), as if the body had in itself all the faculties mentioned.[1]

[1] For the problems this text poses, see Gottschalk pp. 108–10.

Vitae (**81**)

De vitis, libri duo] **17** (23)

81 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.25–6 (BT t.1, p.19.1–8 Marcovich)

45 W <Κλύτος> δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ, μονήρη
26 αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδιαστήν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μεῖναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ· ‘διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν’ εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι ἔλεγεν· ‘οὐδέπω καιρός’, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν· ‘οὐκέτι καιρός’.

*= 11 A 1 (t.1, p.68.19–23) DK; 1–2 (*ἰδιαστήν*) = Clytus Milesius FHG (t.2, p.333) fr. 3 (deest in FGrH 490, cf. comment. p.403: “falsch”). Narratiuncula eadem: Gnom. Vat. 318; de Thale caelibem vitam vivente vid. Plut. Sol. cap. 6* 3–4 τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι, *vid. Plut. Sol. 7.2* 4 (ἐρωτηθέντα)–5 (φιλοτεκνίαν) = *Gnom. Vat. 509* 5 (καὶ λέγουσιν) –7 = *Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 47 White*

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1 Κλεῖτος *aut* Κλύτος *Menag. (*Κλύτος *probavit Cobet)*: καὶ αὐτὸς *BPF (*αὐτὸς [*scil.* Θαλῆς], *i.e. persona in dialogo a Heraclide conscripto: Diels adn. ad 11 A 1 [t.1, p.68] DK, at casus recti* μονήρης *atque* ἰδιαστής *desiderarentur); Casaubonus primus “auctoris alicuius in mendo hic cubare nomen” vidit* 3 Κύβισθον *Diels adn. ad 11 A 1 (t.1, p.68) DK, coll. Plut. Sol. 7.2*: κίβισθον *B*: κίδισθον *P*[1]*Q*: κίβισσον *F* σχεῖν *Scaliger*: ἔχειν *BPF*

De Morbis (**82–95**)

Causae morborum, liber unus] **17** (24a)
De morbis] **17** (24b)
De femina exanimi] **17** (24c)

Lives (**81**)

On Lives, two books] **17** (23)

81 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.25–6[1] (*BT* v.1, p.19.1–8 Marcovich)

<Clytus> says, as Heraclides relates, that he (Thales) was[2] a
26 solitary man and a recluse.[3] Some people say that he both mar-
ried and had a son Cybisthus, while others say that he remained
unmarried and adopted the son of his sister. And they say that
when he was asked why he did not beget children, he said
"Because of my fondness of children." They also say that when
his mother was trying to force him to marry he said: "It is not yet
the right time," then, when he had become too old and she was
leaning on him, he said: "It is no longer the right time."

[1] Wehrli assigns this fragment to *On Lives*. It could, however, as well belong to *On Happiness* [**17** (6); **25**], cp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1.5 1097b6–11, who in his treatment of happiness discusses the same topic.

[2] For the structure of the clause as changed by Menagius' conjecture, cp. Diog. Laert. 1.118 ᾿Αριστόξενος δ᾿ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου … φησι νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν (*sc*. Φερεκύδην) ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι.

[3] μονήρη … καὶ ἰδιαστήν. Wehrli p. 72 reminds of Arist. fr 668 R^3, where Aristotle characterizes himself in very much the same way as μονώτης and αὐτίτης. Wehrli considers it possible that the description of Thales is phrased after that of Aristotle.

Diseases (**82–95**)

Causes relating to Diseases] **17** (24a)
On Diseases] **17** (24b)
On the Woman not Breathing] **17** (24c)[1]

[1] For a reconstruction of structure and content of the one work for which the titles **17** (24b) and (24c) are transmitted, see Gottschalk pp. 14–36.

82 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.51 (BT t.1, p.605.8–9 Marcovich)

76 W ὁμοίως (scil. Τιμαίῳ καὶ Ἑρμίππῳ) καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς), ἱπποτροφηκότος τοῦ πάππου.

= Eratosth. FGrH 241 F 7 1 *Timaeus FGrH 566 F 26b (III B) Hermipp. fr. 25 SdA (Suppl. t.1); FGrH F 60 (IV A 3, 1026) Bollansée* 2–3 *De avo Empedoclis victore in certamine equestri vid. Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 32*

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1 καὶ *FDP*^{2}*Q* : *om. BP* 2 νόσων *BP* : νήσων *D* φησὶν *ante* ὅτι *add. Marcovich*

83 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.52 (BT t.1, p. 605.12–13; 606.1–7 Marcovich)

86 W Ἀπολλόδωρος δ᾽ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς φησιν ὡς ...

οἱ δ᾽ ἱστοροῦντες ὡς πεφευγὼς (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) οἴκοθεν
εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει
πρὸς Ἀθηνάους, ἔμοι<γε> τελέως ἀγνοεῖν
δοκοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ἢ παντελῶς
ὑπεργεγηρακώς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται.

Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν φησι τετελευτηκέναι.

= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.277) DK; Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik 1902, fr. 43 (p.271–7); Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 32 (Pars 2 B, p.1029) 3–4 *i.e. bellum Atheniensium contra Syracusanos annis 415–413 a. Chr. gestum* 6–7 *Arist. fr. 71 R*^{3}*; cf. Diog. Laert. 8.74*

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3 πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν *Clinton* : οἴκοθεν πεφευγὼς *BPFD* 5 πρὸς Ἀθηνάους, ἔμοι <γε> τελέως ἀγνοεῖν *Diels* : πρὸς τοὺς ἀθηναίους τελέως ἀγνοεῖν μοι *BPFD* : πρὸς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀγνοεῖν τελέως <ἐ>μοὶ *Bahnsch* 8 Ἡρακλείδης *Fr. W. Sturz (Praef. ad Empedoclea, 1805, p.XXI)* : ἡράκλειτον *B*^{1}*PF*^{1} : ἡράκλειτος *B*^{2}*D* ἑξήκοντ᾽ ἐτῶν *transpos. post* αὐτὸν *Jacoby, Apollodors Chronik 1902, p.272; id. FGrH 244 F 32*

82 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.51 (*BT* v.1, p.605.8–9 Marcovich)

Similarly (*sc*. to Timaeus[1] and Hermippus[2]) Heraclides too in his (work) *On Diseases* (says) that he (*sc*. Empedocles[3]) was from an illustrious house, his grandfather having been a breeder of horses.

[1] Timaeus of Tauromenium (second half of fourth, first half of third century B.C.) was author of *(Sicilian) Histories* in 38 books. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 566, see **94**.

[2] Hermippus of Smyrna, see **1** n. 15.

[3] Empedocles of Acragas, see **55** with n. 3.

83 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.52 (*BT* v.1, p.605.12–13; 606.1–7 Marcovich)

Apollodorus the grammarian says in his *Chronicles* that …

But those who relate that he (Empedocles) was exiled from
his home to Syracuse and waged war with them
against the Athenians, seem to me at least to be completely ignorant.
For he was either no longer living or entirely
beyond the limits of old age, which does not seem likely.

For Aristotle says that he had died (at the age) of sixty years, and likewise Heraclides.

84 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum Prooemium 12 (BT t.1, p.11.15–19 Marcovich)

87 W φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι τῷ Σικυωνίων τυράννῳ ἢ Φλειασίων, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου· μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν.

Cf. Diod. 10.10.1; Val. Max. 8.7 ext.2; August. De civ. D. 8.2 1–2 *(*φιλόσοφον*) Clem. Al. Strom. 1.61.4, cf. Iambl. Vita Pyth. 12.58; 29.159, cf. 8.44; id. In Nicom. arithm. introd. 5; Quint. Inst. orat. 12.1.19* 1–3 *cf. Sosicrates fr. 17 Giannattasio Andria (Sosicrates idem colloquium cum Leonte Phliasio habitum enarrat)* 4–5 μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ' ἢ θεόν, *cf. Clem. Al. Strom. 4.9.1; Diod. 10.10.1; Plat. Apol. 23a5*

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4 ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου *BP* : *om.* F^1, *add. in mg.* F^2 ἄνθρωπον *secl. Cobet*

85 Cicero, Tusculanae disputationes 5.3.8–9 (BT fasc. 44, p.407.16–408.20 Pohlenz)

88 W a quibus (scil. septem sapientibus, Lycurgo, aliis) ducti deinceps omnes, qui in rerum contemplatione studia ponebant, sapientes et habebantur et nominabantur, idque eorum nomen usque ad Pythagorae manavit aetatem. quem, ut scribit auditor Platonis Ponticus Heraclides, vir doctus in primis, Phliuntem ferunt venisse, eumque cum Leonte, principe Phliasiorum, docte et copiose disseruisse quaedam. cuius ingenium et eloquentiam cum admiratus esset Leon, quaesivisse ex eo, qua maxime arte confideret; at illum: artem quidem se scire nullam, sed esse philosophum. admiratum Leonem novitatem nominis quaesivisse, quinam essent philosophi, et quid inter eos
9 et reliquos interesset; Pythagoram autem respondisse similem sibi videri vitam hominum et mercatum eum, qui haberetur maxumo ludorum apparatu totius Graeciae celebritate. nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronae peterent, alii emendi aut vendendi quaestu et lucro duceren-

84 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* Preface 12 (*BT* v.1, p.11.15–19 Marcovich)

Pythagoras[1] was the first to use the name "philosophy," and call himself a "philosopher,"[2] in a conversation in Sicyon with Leon the tyrant of the Sicyonians or the Phliasians,[3] according to what Heraclides Ponticus says in his (treatise) *On the Woman not Breathing*. For, he says, nobody [human being] is wise other than god.

[1] Pythagoras, see **25**.
[2] See W. Burkert, "Platon oder Pythagoras?," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 159–77; Gottschalk pp. 23–33.
[3] Leon of Phlius was tyrant of Sicyon or Phlius (both located in the northern Peloponnese), probably during the 6th century B.C. E. Schwartz, *RE* V (1903) col. 752, states that the quotation from Heraclides was limited to the words "or the Phliasians" (ἢ Φλειασίων). Gottschalk pp. 26–29 expands on this hypothesis and argues that the "notion of philosophy as second best to a wisdom beyond the reach of man, was foreign to the tradition on which Heraclides drew" (29).

85 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5.3.8–9 (*BT* fasc.44, p.407.16–408.20 Pohlenz)

From these (the seven sages, Lycurgus, others) are descended in turn all who devoted their energy to the contemplation of things, and they were both considered and called wise men. And this name for them spread all the way to the time of Pythagoras. People say that he went to Phlius, as Heraclides Ponticus writes, the pupil of Plato and a man foremost in learning, and discussed certain issues learnedly and at length with Leon, the ruler of the Phliasians. When Leon marveled at his talent and eloquence, he asked him in which art he trusted the most. He in turn said that it was not an art he knew, but that he was a philosopher. Leon, astonished at the novelty of the term, asked what kind of people philosophers were and what the difference was between
9 them and the rest of mankind. Pythagoras then answered that he thought human life was similar to the kind of fair which is held with a magnificent display of games in a gathering from the whole of Greece. For there some people seek the glory and

tur, esset autem quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maxime ingenuum, qui nec plausum nec lucrum quaererent, sed visendi causa venirent studioseque perspicerent, quid ageretur et quo modo, item nos quasi in mercatus quandam celebritatem ex urbe aliqua sic in hanc vitam ex alia vita et natura profectos alios gloriae servire, alios pecuniae, raros esse quosdam, qui ceteris omnibus pro nihilo habitis rerum naturam studiose intuerentur: hos se appellare sapientiae studiosos — id est enim philosophos —; et ut illic liberalissimum esset spectare nihil sibi adquirentem, sic in vita longe omnibus studiis contemplationem rerum cognitionemque praestare.

5 *De Heraclide Platonis discipulo vid.* **1** *T. ad v. 4–5* 18–19 *visendi causa venirent, cf. Iambl. Protr. 9 (p.53.19–26 Pistelli)*

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15 illic ς: illi *X (del.* V^2*)* 17 esse V^1 27 cognitionemque V^c ς: cogitationemque *X*

86 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.4–5 (BT t.1, p.574.19–575.17 Marcovich)

89 W τοῦτόν (scil. Πυθαγόραν) φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθείη· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι, ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων· ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ' Εὔφορβος ἔλεγεν, ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ Ἅιδῃ ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.

5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἣν Μενέλαος ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδα (ἔφη γὰρ

distinction of a crown by training their bodies, and others are drawn by the profit and gain in buying or selling, but there is a certain class of people, and this quite the most genuine, who look for neither applause nor gain, but come for the sake of seeing and look thoroughly with great attention at what is being done and how. In the same way, he said, we have arrived into this life from another life and nature, as if (we had arrived) from some city into some crowd at a festival, and some devote themselves to glory and others to money, but there are certain rare people who count all other matters for nothing and eagerly contemplate the nature of things. These people call themselves lovers of wisdom — that is, philosophers — and just as there (at the fair) it was most fitting (for) a free character to watch while seeking nothing for oneself, so in life the contemplation and understanding of things far surpasses all other pursuits.

86 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.4–5 (*BT* v.1, p.574.19–575.17 Marcovich)

Heraclides Ponticus says that this man (Pythagoras) told the following about himself: how he had once been born Aethalides[1] and was believed to be a son of Hermes, and that Hermes told him to choose anything he wished except immortality. So he requested that while living and while dead he might hold a memory of what happened (to him). Thus in his life he remembered everything, and when he died he retained the same memory. And later in time he came into (the body of) Euphorbus[2] and was wounded by Menelaus. And Euphorbus told how he had once been born Aethalides and that he received from Hermes his gift, and told of the wandering of his soul, how it wandered about, and in how many plants and animals it came to be present, and how many things his soul suffered in Hades, and what the other souls endure.

5 And that when Euphorbus died, his soul went over into Hermotimus,[3] who himself also wished to give credibility to the story and went up to the Branchidae and entered the sanctuary of Apollo and pointed out the shield which Menelaus had dedi-

αὐτόν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλει ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἀσπίδα), διασεσηπυῖαν ἤδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένειν τὸ ἐλεφάντινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἁλιέα. καὶ πάντα πάλιν μνημονεύειν, πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Εὔφορβος, εἶτα Ἑρμότιμος, εἶτα Πύρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνῆσθαι.

= 14 A 8 (t.1, p.100) DK De migrationibus animae Pythagorae vid. Hippobot. fr. 13 Gigante; Dicaearch. fr. 42 Mirhady; Diod. 10.6.a; Gell. Noct. Att. 4.11.14; Ovid. Met. 15.160–4; Hyg. Fab. 112.3; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 1.1; Hippolyt. Refut. 1.2.11; 3.3; Tert. De anim. 28.3; Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. 45; Luc. Dial. mort. 20.3; schol. vetus in Soph. El. 62 ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις; *schol. vetus in Apoll. Rhod. A 643–8e* ἐπιδέδρομε λήθ<η> *= FGrH 3 F 109; Suda H 88 (s.v.* ἤδη *t.2, p.552.13–16) Adler; Theologoumena arithm. p.40 (Ast) in: 14 A 8 (t.1, p.99.26–100.6) DK 2 Aethalides vid. Pherecyd. 7 B 8 (t.1, p.50.16–8) DK 7 sqq. de Euphorbo cf. Maximus Tyr. Diss. 10.2; Lact. Div. inst. 3.18.15–6*

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2 αὐτοῦ *Cobet*: αὐτοῦ *BPD* 4 βούληται *codd.*: βούλοιτο *Cobet* 5 τελευτῶντα : τελευτήσαντα *Cobet* 7 τὴν αὐτὴν : *an* τὴν αὐτῶν? *Schütrumpf* 11–12 ἐν τῷ Ἅιδῃ : ἐν ᾄδου *Cobet* 18 διαμένειν *codd.*: διαμένον *Cobet*

87 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.60–2 (BT t.1, p. 611.4–7; 15–612.12 Marcovich)

77 W Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Παυσανίᾳ ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν (sc. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν. ἦν δ' ὁ Παυσανίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ ...

61 τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, ὡς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ σῶμα. ὅθεν εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰητρὸν καὶ μάντιν, λαμβάνων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στίχων

62 ὦ φίλοι, οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος
ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,
χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς

cated (for he said that he [Menelaus], when he sailed away from Troy, had dedicated the shield to Apollo), which was already rotten and only the ivory facing remained. And when Hermotimus died, he became Pyrrhus the fisherman from Delos, and again he remembered everything, how he had become first Aethalides, then Euphorbus, then Hermotimus, then Pyrrhus. And when Pyrrhus died, he became Pythagoras and remembered all the things he had talked about.

[1] According to Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.640–9, Aethalides participated in the voyage of the Argo. Aethalides lived part of the time on earth, another part in the Hades and had received from Hermes the gift of memory which was not destroyed when he went to Hades.

[2] This is a reference to *metempsychosis*, migration of the soul, cp. Xenophanes 21 B 7 DK (on Pythagoras). Euphorbus, son of Panthous, was a Trojan hero who wounded Patroclus with his spear (Hom. *Il.* 16.806 ff.) and was killed by Menelaus (*ibid.* 17.59–81), see Rohde v. 2, pp. 417–21.

[3] For Hermotimus, see Rohde v. 2, p. 94; Wellmann *RE* VIII 904 no. 2.

87 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.60–62 (*BT* v.1, p.611.4–7; 15–612.12 Marcovich)

Heraclides in his (work) *On Diseases* says that he (Empedocles) instructed Pausanias too in the matter of the woman not breathing. Pausanias,[1] as Aristippus and Satyrus[2] say, was his beloved, …

61 Heraclides says the woman not breathing, at any rate, was this sort of case, that for thirty days he (Empedocles) preserved her body non-breathing and without pulsation. For this reason he (Heraclides) said that he (Empedocles) was both a doctor and a prophet, taking his evidence at the same time from these verses:

62 Oh friends, you who inhabit the great town stretching down to yellow Acragas
on the heights of the citadel, caring for good deeds,
greetings. I go about you as an immortal god, no longer a

πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,
ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείοις·
τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα,
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕπονται
μυρίοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπῃ πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·
οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ νούσων
παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλυεῖν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

1–7 *vid. Suda A 3242 (s.v.* Ἄπνους*)* 1–8 *= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.278–9) DK De Pausania Empedoclis discipulo vid. Empedocl. 31 B 1 DK* 3 *Satyr. fr. 14 Schorn* 9–10 *Verba* ὦ φίλοι … πόλεος *ascribit Diog. Laert. 8.54 initio Empedoclis Lustrationum (*Καθαρμοί*)* 9–13 *= Anth. Pal. 9.569* 9–18 *= Empedocl. 31 B 112 (t.1, p.354-5) DK; fr. 102 Wright* 11 *Verba* χαίρετ' ... θνητὸς *profert Suda E 1003 s.v.* Ἐμπεδοκλῆς *(t.2, p.259.5) Adler* 11–12 *Verba* χαίρετ' ... πωλεῦμαι *profert Diog. Laert. 8.66; Timaeus FGrH 566 F 2* 11 χαίρετ' –12 τετιμένος *Sext. Emp. Adv. mathem. 1.302* 17 οἱ μὲν – νούσων *cf. Clem. Al. Strom. 6.30.3*

5 Ἡρακλείδης *Mercurialis et Casaubonus; Menagius ad Diog. Laert. prooem. 12* : ἡράκλητος *BFD* : ἡράκλειτος *P* 6 ἄσφυκτον *Mercurialis* : ἄσηπον *codd.* : ἄσιτον *Suda s.v.* Ἄπνους *(t.1, p.291.3) Adler* 12 ἔοικα *BPF* : ἔοικε(ν) *D et Anthol.Pal. 9.569* 13 περίστεπτος *BPD* : περίστρεπτος *F et Anthol.Pal. 9.569* 14 τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἵκωμαι *P^4 H* : <πᾶσι δὲ> τοῖς ἂν ἵκωμαι *Wilamowitz* 17 δ' ἐπὶ *Sturz ex Clem.* : δέ τι *BPF*

88 Origenes, Adversus Celsum 2.16 (p.94.21–5 Marcovich)

78 W ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χλευάζουσιν οἱ ἄπιστοι, παραθησόμεθα μὲν καὶ Πλάτωνα λέγοντα Ἤρα τὸν Ἀρμενίου μετὰ δώδεκα ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐγηγέρθαι καὶ ἀπηγγελκέναι τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου, ὡς πρὸς ἀπίστους δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἄπνου οὐ πάντῃ ἔσται εἰς τὸν τόπον ἄχρηστα.

2–3 *Er Pamphylius in Plat. Rep. 10.614B–621B* 3 Ἤρα τὸν Ἀρμενίου *Bouhéreau ex Plat.* : ἦρον τὸν ἀρμένιον *PapCairo no. 88747 PVM^{ac}*

89 Galenus, De locis affectis 6.5 (t.8, p.414–15 Kühn)

79 W ἐγὼ δὲ θεασάμενος πολλὰς γυναῖκας ὑστερικάς, ... τινὰς μὲν ἀναισθήτους τε ἅμα καὶ ἀκινήτους κειμένας, ἀμυδρότα-

mortal,
honored among all, as I appear (to you),
crowned with ribbons and fresh garlands.
As soon as I come to them into their prospering towns,
men and women, I am worshipped.
And they follow along
numberless, asking where the path to profit (begins),
some in need of prophecies, oth-
ers with all sorts of diseases,
ask to hear the utterance of healing.

[1] According to **94**, Pausanias was a "friend" of Empedocles, cp. **93**, **95A**. He was a student of Empedocles: 31 B 1 DK (Wehrli p. 86).

[2] Satyrus, who lived in the 3rd century B.C., was an author of biographies of philosophers, poets, politicians, and orators. The fragments of Saturos have been edited by S. Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis. Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentari* (Basel 2004).

88 Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.16 (p. 94.21–5 Marcovich)

As for the fact that non-believers scoff at the story of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, we shall cite the authority of Plato as well, who says that Er, the son of Armenios, had been awakened from the funeral pyre after twelve days and had reported his experiences in the Underworld, as also the story in Heraclides about the woman not breathing, told to non-believers, will not be completely useless in regard to this topic.

89 Galen, *On affected areas* 6.5 (v.8, p.414–15 Kühn)

Having seen many hysterical women, … some lying without sensation and at the same time motionless, having a very faint

τόν τε καὶ μικρότατον ἐχούσας σφυγμὸν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀσφύκτους φαινομένας, ἐνίας δ' αἰσθανομένας τε καὶ κινουμένας καὶ μηδὲν βεβλαμμένας τοῦ λογισμοῦ, λιποδρανούσας τε καὶ μόγις ἀναπνεούσας, ἑτέρας δὲ συνελκομένας τὰ κῶλα, διαφορὰς ὑπολαμβάνω τῶν ὑστερικῶν παθημάτων εἶναι πλείους, ἤτοι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ποιούσης αἰτίας ἢ κατ' εἴδη τινὰ διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη λελεγμένη διαφορὰ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ Ἡρακλείδου γεγραμμένον βιβλίον ἀπορίαν ἔχει πολλὴν ὅπως γίγνεται. λέγεται γὰρ ἄπνους τε καὶ ἄσφυκτος ἐκείνη ἡ ἄνθρωπος γεγονέναι, τῶν νεκρῶν ἑνὶ μόνῳ διαλλάττουσα, τῷ βραχεῖαν ἔχειν θερμότητα κατὰ τὰ μέσα μέρη τοῦ σώματος. ἐπιγέγραπται γοῦν τὸ βιβλίον ἄπνους Ἡρακλείδου, καὶ ζήτησιν ἔφη γεγονέναι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἰατροῖς, εἰ μήπω τέθνηκεν.

90 Galenus, De difficultate respirationis 1.8 (t.7, p.773 Kühn)

80 W καὶ τῶν νοσημάτων ... ἐν μὲν τοῖς πυρετώδεσιν ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοις περί τι τῶν ἀναπνευστικῶν ὀργάνων ἢ τὴν καρδίαν ἤθροισταί τι πολὺ πλῆθος θερμότητος, ἡ ἀναπνοὴ πᾶσα μεγάλη καὶ ταχεῖα καὶ πυκνὴ φαίνεται γιγνομένη. ἐν οἷς δὲ ἀπέψυκται τὸ θερμόν, ἡ ἐναντία, ὥστε καί τισιν ἤδη τελέως ἔδοξεν ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ ἣν ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης ἄπνουν ἔγραψεν ἥδε ἐστίν. τὸ ἀνάλογον γὰρ ἔχειν ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀναπνοή τε καὶ σφυγμός, οὕτω κἀν τῷδε. παντελῶς γὰρ οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι δυνατόν, ἔστ' ἂν περιῇ τὸ ζῷον, ἀπολωλέναι μέντοι δόξαι διὰ σμικρότητα θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.

10 περιῇ *codd.* : περιείη *von Arnim*

91A Plinius, Naturalis historia 7.52.175 (BT t.2, p.61.7–11 Ian-Mayhoff)

81 W feminarum sexus huic malo (scil. corpus saepe quasi mortuum diu iacere) videtur maxime opportunus conversione volvae; quae si corrigatur, spiritus restituitur; huc pertinet no-

and tiny pulse or even appearing entirely without a pulse, but a few with perception and motion and not injured at all in their reasoning, fainting and hardly breathing, and others cramping in their limbs, I assume that there are many varieties of hysterical conditions, differing from each other either in the magnitude or kind of cause that produces this condition. The first difference mentioned, then, according to the book written by Heraclides Ponticus, offers a great puzzle as to how it occurs. For that woman is said to have become without breath or pulse, differing from corpses in only one point, the possession of a small amount of heat in the middle parts of her body. Now the work of Heraclides is entitled *(The Woman) not Breathing*, and he said that an inquiry had been made by the doctors present, whether she had not already died.

90 Galen, *On difficulty of breathing* 1.8 (v.7, p.773 Kühn)

Of illnesses, … in all those characterized by fever, and especially those in which a great abundance of heat has been collected around one of the organs of breathing or the heart, the whole activity of breathing appears to become heavy and swift and frequent. In those in which the heat has been cooled, (breathing is) the opposite, with the result that to some (the patient) has appeared to have already completely died. And the patient, whom Heraclides Ponticus wrote about as *(The Woman) not Breathing*, is one of this type. For breathing and pulse seem to be analogous, as in all other cases, in this case too. For it is impossible that either of them completely perishes, as long as the living being survives, but on the other hand it is no wonder that one could appear to have perished on account of the miniscule amount (of breathing nd pulse).

91A Pliny, *Natural History* 7.52.175 (*BT* v.2, p.61.7–11 Ian-Mayhoff)

The female sex seems most susceptible to this malady (*i.e.*, that the body often lies for a long time as though dead) because of a turning of the womb. If this is corrected, breathing is resto-

bile illud apud Graecos volumen Heraclidis septem diebus feminae exanimis ad vitam revocatae.

3 huc *editores veteres*: hoc *codd.*

91B Plinius, Naturalis Historia I (vii) (BT t.1, p.20.33, 21.20.38–9 Ian-Mayhoff)

L. VII CONTINENTUR ... (EX AUCTORIBUS) EXTERNIS ... Heraclide Pontico

Cf. **135B**

92 Galenus, De tremore 6 (t.7, p.615–16 Kühn)

82 W Ἀσκληπιάδης γοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ θερμόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιθεὶς ἔμφυτον δύναμιν, ἅπαντα πυρετὸν ἐπί τισιν ἐμφράξεσιν ὄγκων ἐν πόροις ἀεὶ συνίστασθαι λέγων, ἐν μεγέθεσι πόρων τὴν διαφορὰν τιθέμενος αὐτοῦ, οὕτω φιλοτεχνεῖ δείκνυσί τε, τίσι μὲν ἀνάγκη ῥῖγος ἐξεῦχθαι, τίσι δ' οὔ. καὶ ἔγωγ' ἂν εἰ μὴ μακρότερόν τε τοῦ καιροῦ τὸν λόγον ἤλπιζον ἔσεσθαι ... ἑξῆς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἁπασῶν τῶν δοξῶν ἐπισκεψάμενος, ἀφ' ὅτου γε πιθανὸν τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἔσχηκεν ἑκάστη, καὶ τί μάλιστα τὸ ἀπατῆσαν, ὅπῃ τε σφάλλονται δείξας, οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἧκον δόξαν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς ἕτερον ἀναβεβλήσθω καιρόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθήναιον ἐπαινῶ περὶ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ καὶ Στράτωνος τοῦ φυσικοῦ λέγοντά τι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς μνημονεύοντα, καίτοι γε οὐ τὰς τούτων δόξας μόνον περὶ ῥίγους, ἀλλ' ἑτέρας πολὺ πλείους οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐνδόξους τε καὶ πιθανὰς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν.

1 *Asclepiades Bithyn. vid. T ad* **59** *v.6*   13 *Strato studiosus naturae: SdA (t.5) fr.2*

red. To this topic pertains that book of Heraclides celebrated among the Greeks, the story of a woman who after seven days without breathing was called back to life.

91B Pliny, *Natural History* I (vii) (*BT* v.1, p.20.33, 21.20.38–9 Ian-Mayhoff)

Book 7 contains … (from) foreign (authors) … Heraclides Ponticus.

92 Galen, *On trembling* 6 (v.7, p.615–16 Kühn)[1]

Asclepiades,[2] at any rate, without positing not only heat, but not even any other inborn power, says that every fever aways arises as a symptom of certain stoppages of (the) molecules in (the) pores, marking the difference of it (the fever) by (the) sizes of (the) pores. He practices his art accordingly and shows to which cases of fever shivering is necessarily tied and to which not. As for me, if I did not expect that my discourse would be too long for the occasion … . I would next examine all the opinions, and after showing from what source each has plausibly taken its starting point, and what about it is most deceiving, and where people go wrong, by this route I would arrive at my own opinion. But let this be postponed for another occasion. For, as a matter of fact, I do not praise Athenaeus[3] for saying something about Asclepiades[2] and Heraclides Ponticus and Strato[4] the physicist but mentioning none of the others. Surely he was able not only to speak of these men's opinions about shivering, but also many more other (opinions), in no way less famous or plausible.

[1] On this fragment, see Gottschalk pp. 14–5; 52–3.

[2] Asclepiades of Cius, see **59** n. 2.

[3] Athenaeus of Attalia was a physicist who founded the school of physicians called the "pneumatists," probably during the middle of the first century A.D., see *DPhA* 1 A 480.

[4] Strato of Lampsacus was head of the Peripatos after Theophrastus (287–269 B.C.), see the fragments in *SdA* v. 5.

93 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.67–8 (BT t.1, p.616.1–18 Marcovich)

83 W περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλέους) λόγος. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὡς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν, φησὶν ὅτι θυσίαν συνετέλει πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ. συνεκέκληντο δὲ τῶν φίλων τινές,
68 ἐν οἷς καὶ Παυσανίας. εἶτα μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ᾽ ὅπῃ βούλοιντο· αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ᾽ οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο. ὡς δ᾽ ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ ηὑρέθη μόνος. ζητουμένου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινομένων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἰδέναι, εἷς τις ἔφη μέσων νυκτῶν φωνῆς ὑπερμεγέθους ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλέα, εἶτ᾽ ἐξαναστὰς ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν. τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Παυσανίας ἔπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐκώλυε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ.

= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.279) DK

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1 αὐτοῦ *hic BDF* : *post* θανάτου *D, editio Froben.* 16 ἐκώλυε *Reiske* : ἐκωλύθη *BPFD* : ἐκώλυσε *Cobet*

94 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.70–2 (BT t.1, p.617.6–7, 13–618.12 Marcovich)

84 W Διόδωρος δ᾽ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) ...

οὕτω δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δ᾽ ἐξαναστάντας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ. ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν
71 διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι. τούτοις δ᾽ ἐναντιοῦται

93 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.67–8 (*BT* v.1, p.616.1–18 Marcovich)

Concerning his (Empedocles') death there are differing accounts. For Heraclides, after narrating the events concerning the woman not breathing, how Empedocles became famous when he sent the dead woman off alive, says that he was performing a sacrifice near the field of Peisianax.[1] Some of his friends had
68 been invited also, and among them was Pausanias.[2] Then after the feast the others departed and went to rest, some under the trees, as there was a field adjoining, and others wherever they wished, but he stayed at the place where he had reclined for the meal. At daybreak when they got up, he alone was not to be found. A search was made for him, and his servants were interrogated and said they did not know (what had happened). But one person said that in the middle of the night he had heard an exceedingly great voice summoning Empedocles, and then he had got up and had seen a heavenly light and the illumination of torches, but nothing else. The others were amazed at what had happened, and Pausanias went down and sent people to search for him (Empedocles). But later he (Pausanias) ordered them not to busy themselves about finding him and said that things had taken place that called for prayer and they must sacrifice to him (Empedocles) as to one who had become a god.

[1] Peisianax, the father of the woman not breathing (Wehrli p. 88).
[2] Pausanias, see **87** n. 1.

94 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.70–2 (*BT* v.1, p.617.6–7, 13–618.12 Marcovich)

And Diodorus of Ephesus, writing about Anaximander, says that he (Empedocles) emulated him ...[1]

And when the plague had ceased in this way, and the Selinuntines were feasting alongside the river, at some time, Empedocles appeared, and they stood up and fell on their knees and worshipped him and prayed to him as to a god. And, wishing
71 to confirm this judgment, he jumped into the fire. But Timaeus[2]

Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῷ ιδ′ (scil. ὁ Τίμαιος). Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι. Παυσανίαν τε μνημεῖον <ἂν> πεποιηκέναι τοῦ φίλου, τοιούτου διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἢ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι ἢ σηκὸν οἷα θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον εἶναι. 'πῶς οὖν', φησίν, 'εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἥλατο ὧν <ὡς> σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ
72 μνείαν ποτὲ ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ
115 W ἄλλων πολλῶν.' τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει· 'ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ἐστιν Ἡρακλείδης τοιοῦτος παραδοξολόγος καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων.'

= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.281) DK 1–2 *Anaximen. 12 A 8 (t.1, p.82) DK* 7–21 *Timaeus FGrH 566 F 6 (Timaeus obloquitur Heraclidi, cf.* **137B** *Testim.)*

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1 Ἀναξιμάνδρου *codd.* : Ἀναξαγόρου *Gigante (PP 17 [1962] 379), Marcovich, coll. Diog. Laert. 8.56* 11 ἐν τῷ ιδ' *Diels (31 A 1 DK, ad loc., t.1, p.281)* : ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ *codd.* : ιβ' *Jacoby dubitanter (app. crit. ad FGrH 566 F 6)* 13 ἂν *add. C. Mueller, Cobet* 16 ὡς *add. Cobet* 17 ἐπεποίητο *codd.* : πεποίηται *Cobet* 21 καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης – λέγων : οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις *post* καὶ *excidisse suspicatur Reiske, Hermes 24 (1889) 321* : παραδοξολόγος <ὡς> καὶ ... λέγειν *Marcovich*

95A Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 8.69 (BT t.1, p.616.19–617.5 Marcovich)

85 W Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὸν (scil. Ἐμπεδοκλέα) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὡδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι, ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐ-

opposes this story, saying explicitly that he (Empedocles) emigrated to the Peloponnesus and did not go back at all: and for this reason also his death is unclear. And against Heraclides he (Timaeus) makes his reply in his fourteenth book, addressing him by name. He says that Peisianax was a Syracusan, and he had no land in Acragas. And Pausanias would have made a monument for his friend, if this sort of story had been circulated, either a statuette or a sacred precinct as for a god, since he was wealthy. "How then," he says, "did he jump into mouths of volcanoes, when he never even mentioned them as things that
72 were in close vicinity? Therefore he died on the Peloponnesus. And it is nothing strange that his tomb is not visible,[3] for neither (are the tombs) of many other men." After saying these sorts of things Timaeus adds: "but throughout Heraclides is just this sort of writer of absurdities, saying even that a man has fallen down from the moon."[4]

[1] There follows the freeing of the inhabitants of Selinus from the plague through the cleansing of the river water.

[2] Timaeus of Tauromenium, see **82** n. 1. Polybius (12.4a6; 12.24; 25c2) considered Timaeus a fault-finder who was excessively critical of others.

[3] Or: "being shown," cp. Arist. *Pol.* 2.12, 1274a36; for later examples see Rohde v. 1, p. 142 n. 2.

[4] This might be an inaccurate reference to Heraclides' astral eschatology, cp. Gottschalk p. 22 n. 25. Or it might be a distortioned reference to Heraclides' concept of souls residing around the Milky Way, whence they come down to the earth, cp. **50**.

95A Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.69 (*BT* v.1, p.616.19–617.5 Marcovich)

Hermippus[1] says that he (Empedocles) had cured a certain Pantheia of Acragas, concerning whom the doctors had given up hope, and for this reason he was conducting the sacrifice. And the number of those who had been invited was around eighty. Hippobotus[2] says that after he got up he had travelled the road toward the Etna, and then once he arrived he jumped into the craters of fire and disappeared, wanting to confirm the report about himself, that he had become a god, and that later this became known, when one of his boots was thrown back

τοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἴθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι. πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ Παυσανίας ἀντέλεγε.

= Empedocl. 31 A 1 (t.1, p.280–1) DK; Hippobot. fr. 16 Gigante 1–4 (ὀγδοήκοντα) *Hermipp. SdA (Suppl. t.1) fr. 27; FGrH 1026 (IV A 3) F 62 Bollansée*

95B Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orationes 4.59 (p. 164.2–166.12 Bernardi)

ταῦτα μὲν παιζέτωσαν παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἐμπεδοκλεῖς καὶ Ἀρισταῖοι καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμοί τινες καὶ Τροφώνιοι καὶ τοιούτων δυστυχῶν ἀριθμός· ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς κρατῆρσιν ἑαυτὸν θεώσας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ εἰς τὴν κρείττονα λῆξιν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναπέμψας, τῷ φιλτάτῳ σανδάλῳ κατεμηνύθη παρὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκβρασθέντι καὶ οὐ θεὸς ἐδείχθη μετ' ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος κενόδοξος καὶ ἀφιλόσοφος μετὰ θάνατον καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ συνετός· οἱ δὲ ἀδύτοις τισὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκρύψαντες ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου καὶ φιλαυτίας, εἶτ' ἐλεγχθέντες, οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς κλοπῆς ἐτιμήθησαν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν καθυβρίσθησαν.

= Aristeas Proconnesius fr. 23 Bolton *De Empedotimo v.* **52** *adn. 2*

2 τοιούτων : τῶν τοιούτων *S* 6 ἐδείχθη *S^pc P^pc* : ὤφθη *S^ac P^ac CRO*

95C Gregorius Nazianzenus, Carmen ad Nemesium 281–90 (MPG t.37, col. 1573.5–14 Migne)

Ἐμπεδόκλεις, σὲ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἐτώσια φυσιόωντα, 281
Καὶ βροτὸν Αἰτναίοιο πυρὸς κρητῆρες ἔδειξαν,
Σάνδαλ' ἀποβράσσαντες ἐλαφρονόοιο θεοῖο
Χάλκεα, καί σε βροτοῖσιν ἐπαισχέα πᾶσιν ἔθηκαν,
Κύδεος ἱμείροντα δι' ἅλματος αἰνομόροιο.
Ἥρακλες, Ἐμπεδότιμε, Τροφώνιε, λήξατε μύθων,
Καὶ σύ γ' Ἀρισταίου κενεαυχέος ὀφρὺς ἄπιστε.

up, for he was accustomed to wearing footwear of bronze. But Pausanias[3] contradicted this story.

[1] Hermippus of Smyrna, see **1** n. 15.
[2] Hippobotus, see **1** n. 14.
[3] Pausanias, see **87** n. 1.

95B Gregory Nazianzen, *Orations* 4.59 (p.164.2–166.12 Bernardi)

Let their Empedocleses and Aristaeuses and Empedotimuses[1] and any number of such wretches amuse themselves by these things: one of them, who thought to have deified himself in the volcanic craters of Sicily was betrayed by his very own sandal cast out of the fire and was shown (to be) not a god after (having been) a human being, but a vainglorious and unphilosophic human being after death, and one who did not even have a grasp of the ordinary things, while those others, who hid themselves in some shrines moved by the same disease (*i.e.*, vainglory) and selfishness and were later exposed, rather than being honoured for their fraud were mocked for failing to conceal it.

[1] Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.

95C Gregory Nazianzen, *Poem to Nemesius* 281–90 (*MPG* v.37, col. 1573.5–14 Migne)

Empedocles, that you, for one, puffed up in vain
And are mortal, the craters of Etna have shown,
Casting away the sandal of a feeble-minded god,
The bronze one, and put you as a shame to all mortals,
Longing to achieve renown by your ill-fated leap.
Heracles, Empedotimus,[1] Trophonius,[2] stop your tales,
And you, the faithless brow of vainglorious Aristaeus.

Ὑμεῖς μὲν θνητοί, καὶ οὐ μάκαρες, παθέεσσι,
Βαιὸν ἀποπλήξαντες ἐπιχρονίοισι δόλοισι,
Μύθοις ὑμεδαποῖσι νόθον κλέος ἁρπάξαντες.

281–2 = Gregor. Naz. Carmina Epitaph. 69 (MPG t.38, col. 46); Anth. Pal. 8.28 vv.1–2; Cosmas Ad carmina S. Gregor. (MPG t.38 col. 511–2; 542) 286–8 = Gregor. Naz. Carmina Epitaph. 70 (MPG t.38, col. 47); Anth. Pal. 8.29 vv.1–3 (ubi 286 εἴξατε μύθων *legitur)*

95D Ps.-Nonnus, Commentarius in orationem 4, Hist. 1 (p.69.10–16 Nimmo Smith)

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμον καὶ Ἀρισταῖον ὑπῆρχον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας, πόλεως Λεβαδίας, μάντεις δὲ τὰς τέχνας. καὶ οὗτοι δὲ βουλόμενοι κενοδοξῆσαι καὶ δεῖξαι ὅτι ἀνελήφθησαν, ἑαυτοὺς ἔν τισιν ὑποβρυχίοις σπηλαίοις ἔβαλον ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνάναι καὶ μὴ εὑρεθῆναι αὐτῶν τὰ λείψανα. οὗτοι δὲ τεθνήκασιν· ἐγνώσθησαν δὲ ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀπέθανον διὰ τὸ μαντεῖον φανῆναι περὶ τὸν τόπον.

Cf. Cosmas Ad carmina S. Gregor. (MPG t.38, col.512–3)   Hic locus deest in collectione fragmentorum Aristeae edita a Bolton.

De Poetis, De Musica (**96–116**)

De Homeri et Hesiodi aetate, libri duo] **17** (28)
De Archilocho et Homero, libri duo] **17** (29)
De Homero] **17** (30)
De iis, quae apud Euripidem et Sophoclem reperiuntur, libri tres] **17** (31)
Collectanea virorum studiis musicae deditorum] **17** (32)
De musica, libri duo vel tres] **17** (33a,b)
Solutiones Homericae, libri duo] **17** (34)
De tribus poetis tragicis, liber unus] **17** (36)
De arte poetica et poetis, liber unus] **17** (38)
Tragoediae **150–4**

You are mortal, and not blessed in your sufferings,
You have impressed few by your long-contrived tricks,
You have gained dubious fame in your local tales.

[1] Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.
[2] Trophonius, see **122A**; **143**.

95D Ps.-Nonnus, *Commentary on oration 4,* Hist. 1 (p.69.10–16 Nimmo Smith)

Trophonius[1] and Empedotimus[2] and Aristaeus (and their followers) were from Boeotia, from the city (of) Lebadeia, and (were) seers (*manteis*) by profession. These persons, wanting to establish a(n empty) reputation and demonstrate that they had been taken up to heaven (to become immortal), threw themselves in certain underground caverns in order that they would (be thought to) be dead and that their mortal remains would not be found. These persons are dead. It was thought that they died in that place because of the fact that the oracle had appeared around the place.

[1] Trophonius, see **122A**; **143**.
[2] Empedotimus, see **52** n. 2.

Poets and Music (**96–116**)

On the Age of Homer and Hesiod, two books] **17** (28)
On Archilochus and Homer, two books] **17** (29)
On Homer] **17** (30)
On Issues in Euripides and Sophocles, three books] **17** (31)
Collection (of Tenets) of Experts in Music] **17** (32)
On Music, two or three books] **17** (33a; b)
Solutions to Homeric (Questions), two books] **17** (34)
On the Three Tragic Poets, one book] **17** (36)
On Poetics and the Poets, one book] **17** (38)
Tragedies = **150–4**

De Aristoxeno tradente Heraclidem Ponticum tragoedias scripsisse Thespidisque titulum illis praescripsisse, vid. **1** (92)
De Chamaeleone asseverante Heraclidem Ponticum sua furatum de Homero et Hesiodo scripsisse, vid. **1** (92)

96 Dio Prusaensis, Orationes 53.1–2 (t.2, p.110.3–7 von Arnim)

167 W καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ... ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ (scil. Ὁμήρου) διέξεισι, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός. τούτων δὲ πρότερος Πλάτων πανταχοῦ μέμνηται ...

Arist. fr. 1 (p.24) R^3

97 Anonymus, In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea commentarium 3.2 (CAG t.20, p.145.26–146.3 Heylbut)

170 W λέγει δὲ περὶ Αἰσχύλου καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ὁμήρου, ὡς κινδυνεύοντος ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν μυστικῶν περιφέρειν τινὰ δοκεῖν, εἰ μὴ προαισθόμενος κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διονύσου βωμόν, καὶ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων ὡς ὀφείλοντα κριθῆναι πρῶτον, ἐδόκει ὑπαχθῆναι εἰς δικαστήριον καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν, αὐτὸν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφέντων μάλιστα διὰ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ ἐν <τῇ ἐπὶ> Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κυνέγειρος ἀπεκόπη τὰς χεῖρας, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλὰ τρωθεὶς φοράδην ἀνηνέχθη. μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε σῆμα
κεύθει ἀποφθινόμενον πυροφόρον ...

Comment. in Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.2 1111a 8–9 = TrGF (t.3) T 93 b (ubi Radt legit ἀποφθινόμενον*); cf. Aspasius in Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.2 1111a8 (CAG t.19, p.64.29–31 Heylbut); Clem. Al. Strom. 2.14 60,3 (vid. J. Bernays, GesAbh t.1, p.160–4)* 2–3 *cf. Ael. Var. hist. 5.19* 9 *Cynegirus, vid. PA no. 8944; PAA (t.10), no. 588715; RE Suppl. IV col. 1126* 12–13 *epigramma = Vita Aeschyli 11 (= TrGF t.3 Testim. A, p.34–5)*:
Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει →

On Aristoxenus's statement that Heraclides Ponticus wrote tragedies and ascribed them to Thespis, see **1** (92).
On Chamaeleon's claim that Heraclides Ponticus wrote his books about Hesiod and Homer after stealing the material from him, see **1** (92).

96 Dio of Prusa, *Orations* 53.1-2 (v.2, p.110.3–7 v.Arnim)

And especially Aristotle himself … treats the poet (Homer) in many dialogues, mostly admiring and honoring him, and so does Heraclides Ponticus.[1] And, before these writers, Plato mentions (Homer) everywhere . . .

[1] "And so does Heraclides" could include the statement that he deals with Homer "in many dialogues" (cp. Voss p. 75). His works on Homer would then be dialogues as well.

97 Anonymous, *Commentary on Aristotle's* Nicomachean Ethics 3.2 (*CAG* v.20, p.145.26–146.3 Heylbut)

Heraclides Ponticus too says about Aeschylus in his first book *On Homer* that he was at risk of being killed on stage because he seemed to have revealed some of the secrets of the mysteries. (And this would have happened,) if he had not realized this in advance and had taken refuge at the altar of Dionysus. After the members of the Areopagus summoned him, informing him that he first needed to be tried, it was believed he was brought before the court and had been acquitted, the judges letting him go mostly on account of the things he had done at the Battle of Marathon. For his brother Cynegirus had his hands cut off, and he himself sustained many injuries and was brought back on a litter. The epigram on his tomb also bears witness to these deeds:

> This monument covers the Athenian Aeschylus, son of
> Euphorion, who perished wheat-bearing.

μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας
ἀλκὴν δ’ εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος. *Cf. ibid. T 88; T 162*

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7 αὐτὸν *B*: αὐτῶν *Aldina* 8 τῇ ἐπὶ *Aldina*: *om. B* 9 Κυνέγειρος *Wilamowitz*: κυναίγυρος *codd.*

98 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 2.43–4 (BT t.1, p.122.2–10 Marcovich)

169 W οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο (scil. ἀδίκως αἰτιᾶσθαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὅσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρῶτον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτί-
44 μησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ. Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει λέγων·

ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν
πάνσοφον,
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν.

2–4 *de Homero Athenas obeunte v. [Hes.] Cert. Hom. et Hes. 265sqq.* 3–4 *De Homero insaniente vid. Dio Chrys. or. 11.16; 47.5* 4 *De Tyrtaeo mentis non compote vid. Paus. 4.15.6* 5 (Ἀστυδάμαντα)–6 (χαλκῇ) *= Astydamas II: TrGF 60 (t.1, p. 199) T 8a: anno 340 honoratus; vid. ibid. T 2a vv.3–4* 8–10 *Eur. TrGF (t.5.2) F 588; Philostrat. Heroic. 34.7 (p.48.22–4 Lannoy), cf. Philochorus FGrH 328 F 221*

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4 ἐζημίωσαν *coni. Cobet*: ἐτίμησαν *BPV*: ἐτιμήσαντο *F* 5 πρῶτον *BPFΦ probante Wilamowitz*: πρότερον *G. Hermann* 9 ὦ Δαναοί *post* πάνσοφον *Philostr. Heroic. 34.7 (p.48.23 Lannoy)* 10 οὐδέν' B^2 *in mg*: οὐδὲν B^1*PFΦ* ἀλγύνουσαν *FΦ Philostr. cod.* $H^{γρ}$: ἀλγύνασαν B^1 B^2 *in mg. P*

99 Porphyrius ap. Scholion Venetum B in Homeri Iliadem 2.649 (BT fasc.1, p.48.25-49.7 Schrader)

171 W διὰ τί ἐνταῦθα μὲν πεποίηκεν (scil. Ὅμηρος)

ἄλλοι θ' οἳ Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο,

ἐν δὲ Ὀδυσσείᾳ εἰπὼν ὅτι ἔστιν ἡ Κρήτη καλὴ καὶ πίειρα καὶ περίρρυτος, ἐπάγει

ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοὶ ἀπειρέσιοι καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες;

τὸ γὰρ ποτὲ μὲν 'ἐνενήκοντα,' ποτὲ δὲ 'ἑκατὸν' λέγειν δοκεῖ ἐναντίον εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λύειν ἐπεχείρουν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ μυθεύεται τοὺς μετ' Ἰδομενέως ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀποπλεύσαντας πορθῆσαι Λύκτον καὶ τὰς ἐγγὺς πό-

98 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 2.43–4 (*BT* v.1, p.122.2–10 Marcovich)

Not only in the case of Socrates did the Athenians experience this, but in very many others.[1] For, according to what Heraclides says, they fined Homer fifty drachmas for being a madman, and they said that Tyrtaeus was out of his mind and they honored Astydamas[2] first among the members of the family of Aeschy-
44 lus[3] with a bronze statue. Euripides even rebukes them in the *Palamedes*, saying:

> You have killed, you have killed,
> the wholly wise,
> the wholly unharmful nightingale of the Muses.

[1] Demetrius of Phaleron (no. 107 SOD) mentions the envy of the Athenians against the philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia.

[2] Astydamas the younger was an Athenian tragic poet of the 4th century B.C., see *TrGF* vol. 1, no. 60.

[3] Astydamas belonged to the family of Aeschylus, see the stemma in *TrGF*: Euphorion, no. 12 T 3 (v. 1, p. 88).

99 Porphyry in a Venetian B Scholion on Homer, *Iliad* 2.649 (BT fasc.1, p.48.25–49.7 Schrader)

Why has he (scil. Homer) written here,

> and others who dwelled around Crete with its hundred cities,

but in the *Odyssey*, after saying that Crete is beautiful and rich and surrounded by water, adds

> and on it are many people, uncountable, and ninety cities?

For to say in one place "ninety" and in another place "one hundred" seems to be a contradiction. Well, Heraclides and others tried to solve the problem like this: Since he tells how the men who sailed back from Troy with Idomeneus sacked Lyctos and

λεις, ἃς ἔχων Λεύκων ὁ Τάλω πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε τοῖς ἐκ Τροίας ἐλθοῦσιν, εἰκότως ἂν φαίνοιτο μᾶλλον τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἡ ἀκρίβεια ἢ ἐναντιολογία τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Τροίαν ἐλθόντες ἐξ ἑκατὸν ἦσαν πόλεων. τοῦ δὲ Ὀδυσσέως εἰς οἶκον ἥκοντος ἔτει δεκάτῳ μετὰ Τροίας ἅλωσιν καὶ φήμης διηκούσης, ὅτι πεπόρθηνται δέκα πόλεις ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οὔκ εἰσί πως συνῳκισμέναι, μετὰ λόγου φαίνοιτ' ἂν Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγων ἐνενηκοντάπολιν τὴν Κρήτην, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει, οὐ μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ψεύδεται.

De eadem quaestione vid. Arist. fr. 146 R[3]*; Ephor. FGrH 70 F 146; Str. 10.4.15; Eust. Ad Hom. Il. 2.649 (313.31–40) = t.1, p.487.9–20 van der Valk; Schol. Vet. in Hom. Il. B 649 (Erbse); Eust. Ad Hom. Od. 19.174* 2 *Hom. Il. 2.649* 5–6 *Hom. Od. 19.173–4*

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10 Λύκτον *Hoeck (cf. Hom. Il. 2.645–7)*: λέκτον *codd.* 11 τάλας *codd.*: Τάλω *corr. Dindorf* 15 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν μετὰ *B Lp Et*: *corr. Bekker*

100 Porphyrius ap. Scholion Venetum B in Homeri Iliadem 3.236 (BT fasc.1, p.59.11–18 Schrader)

172 W ἀπίθανον εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐννέα ἐτῶν διελθόντων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ, μηδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῇ Ἑλένῃ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, εἴτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἴτε ὅλως οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἢ ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὴν μάχην. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν τοιούτους ὄντας μὴ οὐχ ὑπὸ πάντων γινώσκεσθαι παρόντας εἰς τὴν Τροίαν. λέγει δὲ Ἡρακλείδης, ὅτι ἄλογον ἦν ὄντως τοῦτο, εἰ διατελεσάντων ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐννέα ἔτη μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔσχεν Ἑλένη λέγειν.

De eadem quaestione vid. Arist. fr. 147 R[3]*; Eust. ad Hom. Iliad. 3.236 (410.5–17) = t.1, p. 645.10–18 van der Valk*

101 Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 2.51 (BT p.26.5–12 Schrader)

173 W ἑκατὸν δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ σχεδὸν τῶν ἁπάντων ὄντων μνηστήρων, ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης 'δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἄριστοι' ῥηθέντων, ζητεῖ Ἡρακλείδης, πῶς ὁ Τηλέμαχος

the cities nearby that Leuco son of Talas was holding when he waged war against those returning from Troy, in all likelihood it would be the precision of the poet rather than some contradiction that is showing. For those going to Troy were from a hundred cities. But when Odysseus arrives home in the tenth year after the capture of Troy, and a rumor has reached him that ten cities on Crete have been sacked, and they have not in any way been united into larger cities, Odysseus would appear to have good reasons for saying that Crete has ninety cities. The result is that, if Homer is not saying the same things about the same things, indeed he does not on this account also lie.

100 Porphyry in a Venetian B Scholion on Homer, *Iliad* 3.236 (*BT* fasc.1, p.59.11–18 Schrader)

It seems to be implausible that, after nine years had gone by for the Greeks in Troy, not one of the barbarians had reported to Helen about her brothers, whether they also came to the war, or whether they did not come to Troy at all, or whether they came but did not go out into the battle. For it was not possible that men of such a stature would not be recognized by everybody, if they had come to Troy. Heraclides says that this really was contrary to reason, if, after all the Greeks had spent nine years in Troy, Helen was not able to say anything about her brothers.

101 Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the* Odyssey, on 2.51 (*BT* p.26.5–12 Schrader)

Given (the fact) that all the suitors number about a hundred and eighteen, and of these “twelve, all of them outstanding” are said to be from Ithaca, Heraclides investigates why it is that

κατασμικρύνει ἐν τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, συστέλλων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μόνους τοὺς Ἰθακησίους. τί γάρ φησι;

μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ,
τῶν ἀνδρῶν φίλοι υἷες, οἳ ἐνθάδε γ' εἰσὶν ἄριστοι·

τὸ γὰρ πολὺ φορτίον τῆς μνηστείας περιῄρηκε συστείλας τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τοὺς ἐνθάδε, τοὺς ὄντας ἐλάχιστον μέρος τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους.

2–3 Hom. Od. 16.251 6–7 *Hom. Od. 2.50–1*

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9 τοὺς[2] *expunxit Schrader*

102 Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 2.63 (BT p.27.4–13 Schrader)

174 W αἰτιᾶται ὁ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸ τῆς Τηλεμάχου δημηγορίας ἀνοικονόμητον. δέον γάρ, φησίν, ἀξιοῦν καὶ ἱκετεύειν συνάρασθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μνηστήρων τοῦ οἴκου ἀπαλλαγήν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιπλήσσει λέγων

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνσχετὰ ἔργα τετεύχαται, οὐδ' ἔτι καλῶς
οἶκος ἐμὸς διόλωλε.

καὶ τὸ ὅτι [εἰ] μὴ πάρεστιν ὁ πατήρ, ταῦτα πάσχειν, † ἐπανατεινόμενος †

οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνὴρ
οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι,
ἡμεῖς δ' οὔ νύ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν.

καί, ἔτι πικροτέρου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ὄντος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὴν ἀπειλὴν

ἄλλους τ' αἰδέσθητε, φησί, περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους,
θεῶν δ' ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν.

ἀγνοεῖ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος . . .

5–6 *Hom. Od.2.63–4* 9–11 *Hom. Od.2.58–60* 14–15 *Hom. Od.2.65–6 (omissis a Porphyrio* οἳ περιναιετάουσι *post* ἀνθρώπους*)*

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5 οὐδέ τι *distinxit Schrader* 7 εἰ *secl. Buttmann* 7–8 ἐπανατεινόμενος *R* : ἐπανατεινάμενος *HQ* : *Wehrli totam sententiam ab epitomatore contortam esse intellexit* 9 ἔστ' *Porphyr. (Schrader)* : ἔπ' *codd. Hom.* 13 καὶ τὴν πάλην *H* : καὶ πάλιν *D* : *corr. Cobet ap. Dindorf*

Telemachus reduces the number in his speech to the assembly, reducing it to only the Ithacans. For what does he say?

> Suitors have attacked my mother, against her will,
> the dear sons of the men who here are outstanding.

For he has removed most of the burden of the courtship by reducing the number to the ones present, who were the smallest part of the whole number.

102 Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the* Odyssey, on 2.63 (*BT* p.27.4–13 Schrader)

Heraclides censures also the disorderly arrangement of Telemachus' speech to the assembly. For while it was needed, he says, to ask and beg to help (him) with the goal of removing the suitors from the house, he (Telemachus) rebukes them saying:

> For the things that have been done are not endurable any longer,
> and my house has been destroyed in a way that is no longer noble.

(Heraclides) also (censures) the fact that (he says that) just because his father is not there, he suffers that, †dwelling on (it)†:

> for there is no man here
> such as Odysseus was, to drive off the curse from the house,
> and we are not in any way such men as could defend it.

And while the speech to the Ithacans is still more bitter, (Heraclides censures) as well the threat:

> May you be ashamed before the others, he says, the neighboring people,
> and fear the anger of the gods.

But the accuser does not know . . .

103 Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 11.309 (BT p.105.5–106.11 Schrader)

ἀποροῦσί τινες, πῶς τὸν Τιτυὸν εἰπών, ὅτι

ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,

πάλιν περὶ Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου διαλεγόμενος·

μηκίστους τούτους ἔθρεψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα.

καίτοι 'ἐννεαπήχεις' τούτους φησὶν 'εὖρος, αὐτὰρ μῆκος' γενέσθαι 'ἐννεοργυίους'. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ εἰκοσιεννέα ὀργυιῶν μῆκος πρὸς ἐννέα πλέθρων μεγέθη παραβαλλόμενον, ἵνα δὴ μήκιστοι οὗτοι λέγωνται 'μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα', ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Τιτυὸν πολλῷ μᾶλλον; λύει δὲ Ἡρακλείδης λέγων, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ παραβολὴ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ἔπειτα ἐννεαετεῖς ὄντες οὗτοι ἐννεαπήχεις ἐγένοντο τὸ εὖρος 'μῆκός τε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι'· 'εἰ' δὲ 'ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοντο', δῆλον ὡς ἀνάλογον ἂν τοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἔσχον. ἔπειτα 'μηκίστους' τε ἔφη 'καὶ καλλίστους'· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφότερα μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων τούτοις ὑπῆρξε, μείζω μέντοι τινὰ οὐδὲν κωλύει τούτων τῷ κάλλει λειπόμενον.

2 *Hom. Od. 11. 577*   4–5 *Hom. Od. 11.309–10* οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετά γε κλυτὸν Ὠρίωνα   6–7 *Hom. Od. 11.311–12 (at v. 312* ἐννεόργυιοι*)*   13 *Hom. Od. 11.312*   13–14 εἰ ... ἵκοντο *Hom. Od. 11.317*   15 *Hom. Od. 11.309–10*

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13 μῆκός τε : μῆκός γε *codd. Hom.*

104 Porphyrius, Quaestiones Homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes ad 13.119 (BT p.115.9–116.13 Schrader)

175 W τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων ἀτοπίαν, καθ' ἣν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καθεύδοντα μὴ διυπνίσαντες εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέθεντο, τοῦ τε Ὀδυσσέως τὸν ἄκαιρον ὕπνον διαλύειν πειρώμενος ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ἀτόπους εἶναι τοὺς ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκεν ὁ ποιητὴς μὴ στοχαζομένους περὶ τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τῶν Φαιάκων. συνειδότας γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς φιληδονίαν καὶ ἀπολαυστικὸν τρόπον καὶ δεδιότας, μή τις αὐτοὺς ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν

103 Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the* Odyssey, on 11. 309 (*BT* p.105.5–106.11 Schrader)

Some raise the problem how (Homer) says that Tityus

> lay across nine acres,[1]

but also says about Otos and Ephialtes,

> those were the tallest men the graingiving earth nourished,
> at least after famous Orion.

Yet further he says they were "nine cubits[1] in breadth, but in height nine fathoms".[1] For what would be a height of even twenty-nine fathoms compared to magnitudes of nine acres, such that these men could be called the largest "at least after famous Orion" but not much more after Tityus? Heraclides solves the problem by saying that by women a comparison (is usually made) with their kinship.[2] Next, being then nine years old these (sons) were nine cubits in breadth, "and they were nine fathoms in height" and "if they had reached the measure of age," it is clear that they would have had a height analogous to their years. Furthermore, (the poet) said that they (were both) "tallest and most beautiful": for both these qualities belonged to them most of all the others, whereas nothing prevents that someone who falls short of them in beauty could be larger than they.

[1] "acre" (πλέθρον) = *ca.* 10000 sq. ft; "cubit" (πῆχυς) *ca.* 1 1/2 ft; "fathom" (ὄργυια) = *ca.* 6 ft.

[2] Orion was a son of Poseidon and Euryale; Otos and Ephialtes were sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia.

104 Porphyry, *Homeric Questions Relating to the Odyssey*, on 13.119 (*BT* p.115.9–116.13 Schrader)

In trying to resolve the absurdity of the Phaeacians, according to which they set Odysseus down onto his land asleep without waking him up, and the untimely sleep of Odysseus, Heraclides Ponticus says that what is absurd is those interpreters who do not try to draw inferences, from what the poet has said, about the whole way of life of the Phaeacians. For they are conscious of their love of pleasure and their way of enjoying life, and afraid

ἐκβάλῃ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, δύο ταῦτα ὑποκρίνασθαι, φιλοξενίαν τε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ταχεῖάν τε ἀπόπεμψιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλθόντας, πάντα δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅπως αὐτῶν ἡ οἴκησις λανθάνῃ καὶ διάστημα ὅσον ἐστὶ μὴ γινώσκηται, νῆσον ἀγαθὴν οἰκοῦντας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε γεγυμνασμένους οὔτε προαιρουμένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐναντίαν βιοτὴν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔχοντας·

οὐ γὰρ Φαιήκεσσι μέλει βιὸς οὐδὲ φαρέτρη·

καὶ πάλιν φησὶν αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ δαῖτα μέλειν κίθαρίν τε καὶ ᾠδάς· τοιούτους οὖν ὄντας καὶ τοιαύτην γῆν ἔχοντας οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μὴ κατοπτευθέντες ὑπό τινων πολεμῆσαι δυναμένων ἐκπέσωσι τῆς χώρας, καὶ ταχείας τὰς ἀποπομπὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ξείνων, οὐ διὰ φιλοξενίαν·

οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἵδε μάλ᾽ ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται,
οὐδ᾽ ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ᾽, ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται.

οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον διά τινα τοιαύτην αἰτίαν αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν ταχέως τοὺς ξένους, πρὶν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπιδημήσαντας.

1 τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων ἀτοπίαν *"hanc quaestionem tractavit etiam Eustathius" (ad Hom. Od. 13.117) "1733" (11–24), Dindorf adn. ad Schol. Hom. Od. 13.119* 2–3 τοῦ τε Ὀδυσσέως τὸν ἄκαιρον ὕπνον *"Etiam Aristoteli* τὰ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν ἄλογα *visa fuisse, poet. 24 (p. 1460a 35) traditur" (Schrader, ad loc.)* 15 *Hom. Od. 6.270* 16 *Sec. Hom. Od. 8.248* 21–2 *Hom. Od. 7.32–3*

8 ἐκβάλῃ *codd. Wehrli* : ἐκβάλλῃ *Schrader* 19–20 ταχείας ... ἀποπομπὰς *Vindob.* : ταχυτάτους ἀποπόμπους *H* : ταχυτάτας ἀποπομπὰς *Dindorf* 21 οἵδε : οἵγε *libri plurimi Homeri* 22 ὅτε κέν τις ἵκηται : ὅς κ᾽ ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ *libri plurimi Homeri*

105 Vita Homeri Romana 6 (p. 31.17–18 Wilamowitz)

177 W περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καθ᾽ οὓς ἤκμασεν (scil. Ὅμηρος) ὧδε λέγεται. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι πρεσβύτερον Ἡσιόδου.

1 *cf.* **17** (28) 2 *De Homero maiore natu quam Hesiodus vid. Xenophan. 21 B 13 DK; Ephor. FGrH 70 F 1; Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 157; Philochorus FGrH 328 F 210; Str. 7.3.6 299; [Hes.] Cert. Hom. et Hes. 40*

1 ἤκμασεν *Piccolomini* : ἤκουεν *codd.*

that somebody else might arrive in their land and throw them out, and they assume these two roles, excellent hospitality for those who are there and a speedy departure for those who have come. And they do their utmost so that their dwelling-place lies undetected and it is not known how far away it is. They inhabit a good island, and they have neither the training nor a propensity for war, but enjoy a way of life opposed to warlike activities:

> for the Phaeacians care about neither bow nor quiver.

And again he says that they care always about banquet, kithara and songs. Therefore, being people of this sort and having a land of this sort, it is not at all strange that they should be careful to avoid being spotted by some persons capable of waging a war and get expelled from their country, and that they should make the quickest good-byes for their guests; their excellent hospitality is not the reason:

> for these people do not much put up with strangers,
> nor are they glad to greet them when somebody arrives.

Therefore it is in no way strange that for some reason of this sort they send their guests off quickly, before the visitors become privy to their way of life.

105 *Roman Life of Homer* 6 (p.31.17–18 Wilamowitz)

About the time in which he (Homer) flourished the following is said: Heraclides, for one, demonstrates that Homer is older than Hesiod.[1]

[1] According to Hdt. 2.53.1, both Hesiod and Homer lived roughly 400 years before his time, that is they were considered contemporaries. This time frame is the condition for the fiction of their competition.

106 Plutarchus, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum 12 1095A (BT t.6, fasc. 2, p.144.11–15 Pohlenz-Westman)

168 W οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς εἰς νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὰς τυφλὰς καὶ νωδὰς ἐκείνας ψηλαφήσεις καὶ ἐπιπηδήσεις τοῦ ἀκολάστου μεμαθηκόσιν, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, γράφειν περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Δικαίαρχος.

1 αὐτοῖς, *i.e. Epicureis, cf. additamenta ad fr. 21 Us. p.343.19 sqq.* 4 *Aristoteles deest in* R^3. *De Aristotele auctore scribente de Homero vid. fr. 99* R^3 4–5 *Dicaearch. fr. 92 Mirhady*

107 POxy. 1012, fr. 9, col. 2.1–8 (CPF pars I, tom.1**, p.215 Fanan)

ὁ || Ποντικ]ὸ̣ς δὲ Ἡρα[κλείδης
[3/4 λ]ἐ̣γει λακ[
[4/5]ς ὁ κωμ[ικὸς
[± 4]ων καὶ δ[
[3/4]ẹντελεϲ[
[2/3]ẹἰπὼν τὸ ὄν[ομα τῆς ἐν
[τῆ̣] Ἱ̣μέρᾳ̣ [ἱ]ερείᾳ̣[ς
[. .] ῥ̣ηθῆναι πά[λιν δὲ κτλ.

editio princeps in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri t.7 (1910), p.88 Hunt 1–4 = *Aristophanes Comicus, POxy. 1012 (fr. 9, col. II 1, p.32 Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta, Austin)*

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2 λακ[ωνικῶς *vel* λακ[εῖν *Fanan*

108 Plutarchus, Alexander 26.1–7 (BT t.2, fasc.2, p.186.16–187.17 Ziegler)

140 W κιβωτίου δέ τινος αὐτῷ (scil. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἠρώτα τοὺς φίλους, ὅ τι δοκοίη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσθαι. 2 πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα

106 Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 12 1095A (*BT* v.6, fasc.2, p.144.11–15 Pohlenz-Westman)

For it never would have occurred to them to put into their mind those blind and toothless gropings and assaults of the licentious man, had they learned, if nothing else, to write about Homer and Euripides, as Aristotle did and Heraclides and Dicaearchus.

107 *POxy.* 1012, fr. 9, col. 2.1–8 (*CPF* part I, vol.1**, p.215 Fanan)

Hera[clides Pontic]us
[3/4 s]ays Lac[. . . . .]
[4/5] the com[ic . . . . . .]
[± 4] and [. . . . .]
[3/4]complete [. . . . .]
[2/3] having mentioned the na[me of the]
[p]riestress [in] Himera[1] [. . . . . . .]
[. .] (to) have been mentioned. But again *etc.*

[1] A woman of Himera who foresaw in a dream the tyrannical rule of Dionysius is mentioned in **117B**. It is not clear whether the present text belongs to one of Heraclides' works on prophesies (**117**–**26**) or in the context in which it is found in the papyrus, namely a debate on the question of identifying individuals mentioned in literary works by their names. Cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

108 Plutarch, *Alexander* 26.1–7 (*BT* v.2, fasc.2, 186.16–187.17 Ziegler)[1]

When a small box was brought to him (Alexander), which seemed more valuable than anything else to those receiving Darius' possessions and equipment, he asked his friends which of the things of value they thought should most of all be placed
2 into it. When many made many suggestions, he himself said he

φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι
τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν.
3 εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες,
ἀληθές ἐστιν, οὔκουν [οὐκ] ἀργὸς οὐδ' ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ
4 συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὅμηρος. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπ-
του κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον
Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καί τινα
τόπον γνώμῃ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο
5 καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἶτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμα-
στήν· ἀνὴρ πολιὸς εὖ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος
ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

> νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
> Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν.

6 εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξαναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἣ τότε μὲν
ἔτι νῆσος ἦν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος,
7 νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείληπται πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον. ὡς οὖν
εἶδε τόπον εὐφυΐᾳ διαφέροντα—ταινία γάρ ἐστιν ἰσθμῷ
πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς διείργουσα λίμνην τε
πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν—
εἰπὼν ὡς Ὅμηρος ἦν ἄρα τά τ' ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώ-
τατος ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως
τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας.

5–6 *De Alexandro Homeri Iliadis lectore vid. Plut. Alex. 8.1–2; De Alex. magn. fort. 4 327F–328A* 10–27 *De Alexandria condenda vid. Str. 17.6 (792)–8 (794); Diod. 17.52.1–3; Arr. An. 3.1.5–2.2; Plin. Nat. hist. 5.62; Curt. Histor. Alex. 4.8.1–2* 14–19 *De somnio Alexandri vid. Iasonem (Nysaeum?) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἀλεξάνδρειαι πόλεις (πρώτη) 17–18 *Hom. Od. 4.354–5*

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9 οὐκ *del. C* 12 συνοικίσας : συνοικήσας *LQ* 21 ἀνείληπται *codd.* : ἀνῆπται *J.E. Powell, JHS 59 (1939) 238* 23 διείργουσαν L^1 *PM* 27 συναρμόττοντα *Λ* : συναρμόττον *Bryan* : συναρμοττόντως *Reiske, at de munere* ἁρμόττειν *artificibus proprio vid. Arist. Pol. 4.1 1288b12 et Schütrumpf ad loc.*

109 Ps.-Plutarchus, De musica 3 1131F–1132C (BT t.6, fasc.3, p.3.1–4.8 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

157 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ τὴν κι-

would safeguard the *Iliad* by placing it there. More than a few
of reliable witnesses have attested to this event.
3 And if what is said by the Alexandrians who rely on Heracli-
des is true, it seems that truly neither in idleness nor without
4 contribution did Homer go with him on his campaigns. For they
say that after he (Alexander) had conquered Egypt he wanted to
establish a large and populous Greek city, and leave it behind
bearing his own name, and he was about to measure off, on the
advice of his architects, a site of a such size as none (had) yet
5 (been measured) and was about to enclose it. Then, resting at
night, he saw a marvelous vision: a man with perfectly white
hair and a majestic countenance seemed to be standing beside
him and saying the following verses:

> There is an island there in the surging sea,
> in front of Egypt, and people call it Pharos.

6 So, getting up straightway, he walked to Pharos, which at that
time was still an island a little above the Canobic mouth (of the
7 Nile), but now has been joined to the mainland by a jetty. When
he saw there a site outstanding because it was naturally well
suited — for it is a strip of land, which divides by an isthmus
of moderate width a large lagoon from the sea, which ends in a
great harbor — he said that, as it turned out, Homer was amaz-
ing in other respects and as an architect he was most astute. And
he (Alexander) ordered his men to sketch out the plan for his
city by fitting it to this site.

[1] Wehrli places this text under *On Oracles* [= **17** (54)]. Heraclides, however, is mentioned not in the context of Alexander's dream (for dreams see **117–18**), but in that of the gift of the *Iliad* which accompanied him on his campaigns. Müller, *FHG* 2.199 n. 1, believes that Plutarch got this story from Heraclides' book *On Homer* (cp. **17** [30]).

109 Pseudo-Plutarch, *On Music* 3 1131F–1132C (*BT* v.6, fasc.3, p.3.1–4.8 Ziegler-Pohlenz)

Heraclides in his *Collection (of Tenets) of (Experts) in Music*

θαρῳδίαν καὶ τὴν κιθαρῳδικὴν ποίησιν πρῶτόν φησιν Ἀμ-
1132 φίονα ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Διὸς καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τοῦ πατρὸς δηλον-
ότι διδάξαντος αὐτόν. πιστοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς
τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης, δι᾽ ἧς τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν
Ἄργει καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει. κατὰ
δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ Λίνον τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας θρήνους πε-
ποιηκέναι λέγει καὶ Ἄνθην τὸν ἐξ Ἀνθηδόνος τῆς Βοιωτίας
ὕμνους καὶ Πίερον τὸν ἐκ Πιερίας τὰ περὶ τὰς Μούσας ποι-
ήματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλάμμωνα τὸν Δελφὸν Λητοῦς τε καὶ Ἀρ-
τέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσιν δηλῶσαι ἐν μέλεσι καὶ χο-
ροὺς πρῶτον περὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν στῆσαι· Θάμυριν δὲ
B τὸ γένος Θρᾷκα εὐφωνότερον καὶ ἐμμελέστερον πάντων
τῶν τότε ᾆσαι, ὡς ταῖς Μούσαις κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς εἰς
ἀγῶνα καταστῆναι. πεποιηκέναι δὲ τοῦτον ἱστορεῖται Τιτά-
νων πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πόλεμον. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Δημόδοκον
Κερκυραῖον παλαιὸν μουσικόν, ὃν πεποιηκέναι Ἰλίου τε
πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἡφαίστου γάμον· ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ Φήμιον Ἰθακήσιον νόστον τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας μετ᾽ Ἀγα-
μέμνονος ἀνακομισθέντων ποιῆσαι.

οὐ λελυμένην δ᾽ εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιη-
μάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ <τὴν>
C Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μελοποιῶν, οἳ ποιοῦντες
ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον
ἔφη κιθαρῳδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον
τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα
ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν. ἀποφῆναι δὲ τοῦτον λέγει ὀνόματα
πρῶτον τοῖς κιθαρῳδικοῖς νόμοις. ὁμοίως δὲ Τερπάνδρῳ
Κλονᾶν, τὸν πρῶτον συστησάμενον τοὺς αὐλῳδικοὺς νό-
μους καὶ τὰ προσόδια, ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητὴν γεγο-
νέναι· καὶ Πολύμνηστον τὸν Κολοφώνιον τὸν μετὰ τοῦτον
γενόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι ποιήμασιν.

2–3 *Amphio, vid. Plin. Nat. hist. 7.204; Iulian. ep. 30* 4–5 *monumentum historiae musicae Sicyone conservatum FGrH 550 F 1 et F 2* 10 *Philammon, filius Apollinis: Pherecydes FGrH 3 F 120* 12 *Thamyras: vid. Soph. TrGF (t.4) F 245; Thamyris Musae Eratus filius: Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10 439 (t.3, p.107.23 van der Valk); Thamyris Thracius invenit harmoniam Doriam: Clem. Al. Strom. 1.76.6* 15–16 *Titanomachia: Hes. Th. 617–735; Musaios 2 B 1 (t.1, p.22) DK* 18 Ἡφαίστου: *immo* Ἄρεως: *Hom. Od. 8.267 – at coitus Martis et Veneris in domo Volcani consummatus est* 19

1132 says that Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope, was the first to invent singing to the cithara and the composition of songs for this purpose, his father clearly having taught him. And he confirms this from the record kept in Sicyon, through which he names the priestesses in Argos and the poets and musicians. And in the same period, he says, Linus[1] from Euboea, too, composed laments, and Anthes from Anthedon[2] in Boeotia hymns, and Pierus[3] from Pieria his poems about the Muses. But also that Philammon,[4] the Delphian, revealed in song the birth of Leto and Artemis and Apollo and was first to institute choruses at
B the sanctuary in Delphi. Thamyris,[5] a Thracian by birth, sang in sweeter tones and more melodiously than all his contemporaries, so that, according to the poets, he entered into a contest with the Muses. And it is related that he composed a *War of the Titans against the gods*. And (according to Heraclides) Demodocus, the Corcyran,[6] was an ancient musician, who composed a *Sack of Troy* and a *Marriage of Aphrodite and Hephaestus*. And, furthermore, Phemius[7] of Ithaca composed a *Homecoming* of those who returned home from Troy with Agamemnon.

The language of the forementioned works of poetry was not
C free and lacking in meter, but like that of Stesichorus and the ancient lyric poets, who composed epic verses and set them to music. And he said that Terpander,[8] being a composer of melodies for the cithara, set his own poems to music and those of Homer in each type of melody, and sang these in contests. And he says that this man (Terpander) was the first to give names to the melodies for the cithara. In similar fashion to Terpander, Clonas,[9] who first composed nomes for the aulos and processionals, was a poet of elegies and epic verse. And Polymnestus[10] from Colophon, who was born after him (Clonas), used the same poetic forms.

[1] Linus, the son Apollo and a Muse (Terpsichore, according to Eustathius, *Comm. on Hom.* Il. 10.439, v. 3, p. 107.22–3 van der Valk), is probably a personification of the Linos-song (Hom. *Il.* 18.569f.); various legends were created around him.

[2] According to Paus. *Description of Greece* 9.22.5, Anthas, the son of Poseidon and Alcyone, a daughter of Atlas, was ruler of Anthedon.

[3] According to some (*Suda* O 251, under "Homer" [Ὅμηρος], v. 3, p. 525.5 Adler; [Hes.] *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* l. 43) Pierus was the son of Linus.

Phemius Ithacensis, vid. Demetr. Phaler. fr. 146 SOD 24 *Terpander, vid. Plin. Nat. hist. 7.204; Clem. Al. Strom. 1.78.5; Suda T 354 s.v.* Τέρπανδρος *(t.4, p.527.19–23) Adler*

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1 *post* τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ *add.* εὐδοκιμησάντων *Weil-Reinach :* διαλαμψάντων *Bergk Wehrli – non necessarie, cf. Arist. Pol. 8.7 1341b33* τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ *et Schütrumpf ad loc.* *1–2* τὴν κιθαρῳδίαν καὶ *delevit Volkmann cum* R^3 10 *post* Λητοῦς τε *add.* πλάνας *Weil-Reinach* 19 τῶν : τὸν *musici codd. plerique* 22 τὴν *add Ziegler* 22–3 ἀλλ’ <ἔμμετρον> καθάπερ <τὴν> Στησιχόρου *Wehrli* 26 ἔπεσι τοῖς <θ’> *Ziegler* 27 (ἀποφῆναι) –28 (νόμοις) *del. Volkmann Weil-Reinach*

110 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 15.62 701E–F (BT t.3, p.558.15–559.2 Kaibel)

158 W τὸ δὲ ὑφ’ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ λεχθὲν φανερῶς πέπλασται, ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον εἰς τρὶς εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν οὕτως

ἰὴ παιάν, ἰὴ παιάν, <ἰὴ παιάν>.

ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πίστεως τὸ τρίμετρον καλούμενον F ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦθ’ ἑκάτερον εἶναι τῶν μέτρων, ὅτι μακρῶν μὲν τῶν πρώτων δύο συλλαβῶν λεγομένων ‘ἰὴ παιάν’ ἡρῷον γίνεται, βραχέως δὲ λεχθεισῶν ἰαμβεῖον· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν χωλίαμβον ἀναθετέον αὐτῷ. βραχειῶν γὰρ γενομένων εἰ δύο τὰς ἁπασῶν τελευταίας συλλαβὰς εἰς μακρὰν ποιήσει τις, ὁ Ἱππώνακτος ἴαμβος ἔσται.

11–12 *Hipponax Ephesius invenit choliambum: Clem. Al. Strom. 1.79.1*

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4 ἰὴ παιάν, ἰὴ παιάν, <ἰὴ παιάν> *Kaibel* : ἴη παιάν, ἴη παιών *A* : ἴη παίαν, ἴε παιών *E* 8 βραχέως *E* : βραχειῶν *propos. Kaibel (coll.* μακρῶν *v. 7)* λεχθεισῶν *del. Kaibel* 9 χωλίαμβον *K* : ἴαμβον *AE*

[4] Philammon, a son of Apollo, was a legendary singer.

[5] Thamyris was the son of Philammon (Eur. *Rhes*. 916; 925; his mother was the Muse Erato: Eust. *Comm. on Hom. Il.* 10.439, v. 3, p. 107.23 van der Valk) and a legendary singer from Thrace. According to Homer, *Il.* 2.594–600, the Muses took away his gift of singing because of his boastfulness.

[6] Demodocus was a bard at the court of Alcinous, king of the Phaiacians, on the island Scherie; Scherie was already in antiquity identified with Corcyra (Demetr. of Phaler. no. 146 SOD makes Demodocus too a native of Corcyra). In Hom. *Od*. 8.492–521 Demodocus sings of the destruction of Troy, and at 8.266–369 of the love of Ares and Aphrodite.

[7] Phemius, of Ithaca, was a legendary singer at the court of Odysseus. He sang of the homecoming of the Achaeans: Hom. *Od*. 1.326–7.

[8] Terpander belonged to the early 7th century B.C.

[9] Clonas wrote *nomoi* for the aulos (Ps.-Plut. *De mus*. 5 1133A), cp. M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music,* 1992, 333–4.

[10] Polymnestus of Colophon, 7th century B.C., wrote elegies and epics and composed *nomoi* for the aulos.

110 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.62 701E–F (*BT* v.3, p.558.15–559.2 Kaibel)[1]

What was said by Heraclides Ponticus has clearly been fabricated, that at the libations the god first said this (refrain) three times, as follows:

Iè paian, iè paian, <iè paian>.

For in consequence of this belief he attributes (the invention of)
F the so-called trimeter to the god, saying that both types of this meter[2] belong to the god, because when the two first syllables are pronounced as long, *ie paian* becomes a heroic meter,[3] but, when they are pronounced short, it becomes an iambic. Hence it is clear that (the invention of) the choliambic[4] must also be attributed to him.[5] For, if they (the first syllables) become short and one makes the very last two syllables long, there will result the iamb of Hipponax.[6]

[1] In the explanation and translation of this fragment, the editor and translators are very much indebted to R. Kannicht.

[2] *I.e.*, iambic (⏑–⏑–) and spondaic (––––). The 'heroic trimeter' here in its form of a spondaic trimeter is understood as consisting of *three* units of measurement (metra) (3x ––––) and not *six* feet (6x ––) as the term dactylic hexameter indicates (cp. Anon. Grammat., *Supplementa artis Dionysianae vetusta, De prosodiis, GG* vol. 1, p.121.11 τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον ἑξάμετρόν ἐστιν· ἓξ γὰρ χώρας ἔχει).

111 Scholion in Euripidis Rhesum 346 (p.335.13–19 Schwartz)

159 W ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν (scil. Ῥῆσον) γενεαλογοῦσιν, καθάπερ Ἡρακλείδης. φησὶ δέ· ἑβδόμη δὲ Καλλιόπη, < ἣ > ποίησιν εὗρε ἐπῶν καὶ συνοικήσασα Οἰάγρῳ γεννᾷ Ὀρφέα τὸν πάντων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ κιθαρῳδικῇ τέχνῃ γενόμενον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου μαθήσεως † συγκρεματικώτερον † ὀγδόη δ' Εὐτέρπη, ἣ τὴν κατ' αὐλοῦ εὗρεν εὐέπειαν, συνοικήσασα Στρυμόνι τεκνοῖ Ῥῆσον, ὃς ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Διομήδους ἀναιρεῖται.

= Apollodor. FGrH 244 F 146 1 *De Euterpe matre Rhesi vid. Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439, t.3, p.107.13–5; 20–1 van der Valk* 2 *De Calliope matre Orphei vid. Timoth. Pers. 791.221–4 PMG; Apoll. Rhod. 1.21–3; Procl. In Plat. Tim. comment. 5 291A (t.3, p.168.12–4 Diehl); Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439 (t.3, p. 107.22 van der Valk); [Hes.] Certam. Hom. et Hes. 44* 3 *De Oiagro patre Orphei vid. Pind. fr. 128 c (= Thren. 3.11) Maehler; Apoll. Rhod. l.l.; [Hes.] Certam. l.l*

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2 ἡράκλειτος *codd.*: *corr. Schwartz* ἣ *add. Schwartz* 3 ἐπῶν *vel* ἐπικὴν *Wilamowitz*: πάντων *codd.*: ποιημάτων *G. Hermann* καὶ *del. Schwartz* 5–6 συγκρεματικώτερον *codd.*: ἐγχειρηματικώτατον *Schwartz*: συγκεκροτημένον *Haupt*

112 Aelius Dionysius, Nomina Attica λ 17 (Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika, AbhBerlin 1950, p.128.7–9 Erbse)

160 W λίνον· <χορδὴν> Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παλαιοὶ λίνοις ἀντὶ χορδῶν ἐχρῶντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἤδη χορδὰς ἐπιστάμενος λίνον καλεῖ.

[3] *I.e.*, if a *double* spondee (––––) is considered as equivalent to *one* dactylic meter (–∪∪–∪∪), although it consists of *two* units of measurement (––,––).

[4] The choliambus (*skazon*, limping) has the form: ∪–∪–,∪–∪–, ∪–––.

[5] This is an attempt to explain at least some metres as derived from one original metre as it can be found in *POxy*. 120 (B.P. Grenfell-A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrrhynchus Papyri*, Part II, London 1899, 41–52).

[6] Hipponax of Ephesus, belonged to the mid-sixth century B.C. As a poet, he wrote iambi with the metrical peculiarity Heraclides describes. The fragments of his poetry are collected in *IEG* vol. I, pp. 109–171.

111 Scholion on Euripides' *Rhesus* 346 (p.335.13–19 Schwartz)

Some trace his (Rhesus') lineage from Euterpe, as Heraclides did. He says: and the seventh (Muse is) Calliope, <who> invented the composition of epic verse and married Oiagros and bore Orpheus,[1] who became the greatest of all humans in the art of singing to the cithara and besides †fairly well rounded† in his liberal education. And the eighth (is) Euterpe, who invented the euphony of the aulos, married Strymon and gave birth to Rhesus, who was killed by Odysseus and Diomedes.[2]

[1] For Orpheus, see **119**.

[2] These events are described in Homer, *Iliad* book 10.

112 Aelius Dionysius, *Attic Words* λ 17 (*Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika*, AbhBerlin 1950, p.128.7–9 Erbse)

Flax: <string> (according to) Heraclides Ponticus, since the people of old used strings of flax instead of gut. But Homer, too, who already knows about strings of gut, calls (it string of) "flax."[1]

ἐγένοντο δὲ τρεῖς ἥρωες Λίνοι· Καλλιόπης, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιόπης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τρίτος δὲ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 3.336 (421.28–9) = t.1, p.662.10 van der Valk; schol. Hom. Il. 18.570; Phot. Lex. s.v. Λίνον *(Λ 326 Theodoridis)* 2 *Philochorus FGrH 328 B 207 Linum ab Apollone necatum esse enarrat, cum nervis vicem linearum chordarum usus esset* 3 ἐπιστάμενος : *Hom. Od. 21.406–7* λίνον καλεῖ : *Hom. Il. 18.570* 4 *Immo Therpsichore mater Lini: Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 10.439 (t.3, p. 107.22–3 van der Valk) aut Aethusa: [Hes.] Certam. Hom. et Hes. 42*

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1 χορδὴν *add. Erbse ex Eust.* 4 Ἀλκιόπης : Ἀλκίππης *dubitanter Naber*

113 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 10.82 455C (BT t.2, p.490.5–9 Kaibel)

161 W καὶ ὁ εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ ποιηθεὶς τῷ Λάσῳ ὕμνος ἄσιγμός ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς, οὗ ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον.

2 *De poetis antiquis litteram "s" vitantibus vid. Dionys. Hal. De comp. verborum 14.80; Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 87; Clearch. (SdA t.3) fr. 88; fr. 86; Pind. fr. 70b Maehler* 4 = **114** *v. 26* *Clymenus cognomen Plutonis usitatum Hermionae, v. Callim. fr. 285 Pf.*

114 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 14.19–21 624C–626A (BT t.3, p.377.1–381.2 Kaibel)

163 W Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς οὐδ' ἁρμονίαν φησὶ δεῖν καλεῖσθαι τὴν Φρύγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λύδιον. ἁρμονίας γὰρ εἶναι τρεῖς· τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἴωνας. οὐ μικρᾶς οὖν οὔσης διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἤθεσιν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων τὰ πάτρια διαφυλάττουσιν, Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ (οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν <οἱ> τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γέ-
D νους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες) παραπλήσιον αἰεὶ ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀγωγήν· Ἰώνων δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος ἠλλοίωται διὰ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δυναστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων. τὴν οὖν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελῳδίας, ἣν οἱ Δωρι-

There were three heroes called Linus: the son of Calliope; second, the son of Alciope and Apollo; the third, the son of Psamathe daughter of Crotius and Apollo.

[1] The string of gut is mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 21.406–7 ("as a man who knows about [ἐπιστάμενος] lyres [φόρμιγγος] and singing | easily tautens a new string [χορδήν] on its peg" (transl. Dawe). The alleged string of flax occurs in *Il.* 18.570 λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε, which is usually interpreted as "and he sang the Linos-song to the accompaniment (of the cithara) beautifully."

113 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 10.82 455C (*BT* v.2, p.490. 5–9 Kaibel)

And the hymn composed by Lasus[1] for Demeter in Hermione has no sigmas, as Heraclides Ponticus says in the third book of *On Music*. The beginning of this hymn is:

I dance for Demeter and Kore, wife of the Renowned (god, *i.e.*, Hades)."

[1] The poet Lasus, of Hermione (Argolis, Peloponnesus), lived in Athens at the court of Hipparchus († 514 B.C.), the son of Pisistratus.

114 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.19–21 624C–626A (*BT* v.3, p.377.1–381.2 Kaibel)

Heraclides Ponticus in the third book of *On Music* says one should not call the Phrygian[1] (sequence of tones) a mode, just as one should not call the Lydian[2] (sequence of tones) a mode. For there are three modes, since there are also three races of Hellenes: the Dorians, the Aeolians, the Ionians. Now, the difference in their characters is not small: the Lacedaemonians preserve more than the other Dorians the ways of their ancestors, whereas the Thessalians (for they are the ones who from the beginning shared their race with the Aeolians) always maintain a simi-
D lar style of life, but the great majority of the Ionians have been contaminated through adaptation to the various barbarians who

εἷς ἐποιοῦντο, Δώριον ἐκάλουν ἁρμονίαν· ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ Αἰολίδα ἁρμονίαν, ἣν Αἰολεῖς ᾖδον· Ἰαστὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἔφασκον, ἣν ἤκουον ᾀδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δώριος ἁρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον οὐδ’ ἱλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν,
E οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτε πολύτροπον. τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἱπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦργον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον καὶ τεθαρρηκός. διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἄνεσις. διόπερ ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς Ὑποδωρίου καλουμένης ἁρμονίας ἦθος. αὕτη γάρ ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἣν ἐκάλουν Αἰολίδα, ὡς καὶ Λᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν <ἐν> Ἑρμιόνι Δήμητρα ὕμνῳ λέγων οὕτως

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι’ ἄλοχον
F μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων
Αἰολίδ’ ἀνὰ βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν.

ταῦτα δ’ ᾄδουσιν πάντες Ὑποδώρια [τὰ μέλη]. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ μέλος ἐστὶν Ὑποδώριον [τὰ μέλη], εἰκότως Αἰολίδα φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν ὁ Λᾶσος. καὶ Πρατίνας δέ πού φησι·

μήτε σύντονον δίωκε
μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν [Ἰαστὶ]
μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν
νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς σαφέστερόν φησι·

πρέπει τοι
625 πᾶσιν ἀοιδολαβράκταις
Αἰολὶς ἁρμονία.

πρότερον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, Αἰολίδα αὐτὴν ἐκάλουν, ὕστερον δ’ Ὑποδώριον, ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς τετάχθαι νομίσαντες αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Δώριον ἁρμονίαν. *sequitur sententia aliunde inserta.*

20B ἑξῆς ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν [Μιλησίων] <Ἰώνων> ἦθος ὃ διαφαίνουσιν οἱ [Ἴωνες] Μιλήσιοι, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίαις βρενθυόμενοι καὶ θυμοῦ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλλακτοι, φιλόνεικοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδ’ ἱλαρὸν ἐνδιδόντες,

ruled them. So people called the melodic style which the Dorians used the Dorian mode, and they called Aeolian the mode which the Aeolians sang, and they said the third, which they heard the Ionians singing, (was) in Ionic. Now, the Dorian mode exhibits manliness and magnificence, and this is not relaxed or merry, but
E sullen and intense, and neither varied nor complex. The character of the Aeolians has splendor and weight, indeed some superciliousness, and this corresponds with their horse breeding and their hospitality towards strangers: yet it is not nasty, but rather elevated and confident. For this reason fondness for drink, erotic behavior and a thoroughly relaxed way of life is also proper to them. Hence they have the character of the mode called Hypo-Dorian. For this, Heraclides says, is (the mode) which they called Aeolian, just as also Lasus of Hermione[3] (does) in his hymn to Demeter in Hermione, speaking thus:

> I dance for Demeter and Kore, wife of the Renowned (god, *i.e.*, Hades)
> F Lifting up a honey-voiced hymn
> In the loud-thundering Aeolian mode.

Everyone sings these (verses) in the Hypo-Dorian mode. Since the tune is Hypo-Dorian, Lasus says with good reason that the mode is Aeolian. Pratinas,[4] too, says somewhere:

> Pursue neither the severe
> nor the relaxed [Ionian]
> Muse, but, ploughing the middle field,
> be Aeolian in your song.

And in what follows he says more distinctly:

> 625 You see, the song fitting
> to all bold singers
> is the Aeolian mode.

Formerly, then, as I said, they called it Aeolian, and later Hypo-Dorian, thinking, as some people say, that in pipes it was aligned below the Dorian mode.

[*There follows a sentence inserted from elsewhere*]

20B Next let us examine the character of the [Milesians] <Ionians>, which the [Ionians] Milesians reveal. They swagger in pride at the good condition of their bodies, and they are full of bold spirit, slow to make reconciliations, fond of quarrels. They

ἀστοργίαν <δὲ> καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἐμφανίζοντες. διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστὶ γένος ἁρμονίας οὔτ’ ἀνθηρὸν οὔτε ἱλαρόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληρόν, ὄγκον δ’ ἔχον οὐκ ἀγεννῆ· διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ προσφιλὴς ἡ ἁρμονία. τὰ
C δὲ τῶν νῦν Ἰώνων ἤθη τρυφερώτερα καὶ πολὺ παραλλάττον τὸ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἦθος. *sequitur capitulum aliunde insertum.*

21E τρεῖς οὖν αὗται, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴπομεν εἶναι ἁρμονίας, ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. τὴν δὲ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ τὴν Λυδιστὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οὔσας γνωσθῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυγῶν
F καὶ Λυδῶν. Λυδοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνηκολούθησαν διὰ τὸ τὴν Σίπυλον εἶναι τῆς Λυδίας· Φρύγες δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ὁμοτέρμονες τοῖς Λυδοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ὁ Τάνταλος. ἴδοις δ’ ἂν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χώματα μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. μαθεῖν οὖν τὰς ἁρμονίας ταύτας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρὰ τούτων. διὸ καὶ Τελέστης ὁ Σελινούντιός φησιν·

626 πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς
συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρείας
Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον·
τοὶ δ’ ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον
Λύδιον ὕμνον.

1 *sqq. Cf. rationem harmoniarum ap. Poll. 4.65* (ἁρμονίαι δὲ Δωρὶς Ἰὰς Αἰολὶς αἱ πρῶται, καὶ Φρύγιος δὲ καὶ Λύδιος) 19 *De Thessalis equos alentibus vid. Hdt. 5.63.3; Plat. Men. 70A6; Leg. 1.625D3* 20–31 *Lasus PMG 702. Lasus invenit dithyrambum: Clem. Al. Strom. 1.78.5* 26 = **113** *v. 4* 31–9 *Pratinas PMG 712 32–5, 37–9 = TrGF (t.1, p. 83) F 6* 45 *De Milesiorum corporum virtute vid. Anacreon PMG 81* 51 *De Ionica harmonia tragoediae apta vid. Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 82* 55–8; 64–70 *Telestes PMG 810*

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7 οἱ *add. Kaibel* 20 ἐξηρημένον *AE*: *corr. Dalechamps* 22 διόπερ ἔχουσι *Kaibel*: διὸ περιέχουσι *AE* 25 ἐν *add. Schweighäuser* 27 ἀναγνέων *Bergk (cf. Hsch. A 641* ἀγνεῖν· ἄγειν*)*: ἀναγνῶν *A*: ἀνάγων *Casaubonus* 28 ἀνὰ *Wilamowitz*: ἅμα *A*: ἂμ *Edmonds* 29 τὰ μέλη *del. Kaibel* 30 τὰ μέλη *del. Casaubonus* 33 Ἰαστὶ *glossema suspicans del. Page (praeeunte v. Leeuwen)*: Ἰαστὶ οὖσαν *E* 38 ἀοιδολαβράκταις *Bergk*: ἀοιδὰ λαβράκταις *codd.* 40 ἔφην *Musurus ("verba sunt ipsius Heraclidae," Kaibel)*: ἔφη *A* 44–5 *nomina* Μιλησίων, Ἴωνες *locum inter*

→

do not concede kindness and cheerfulness at all, but show in
their characters indifference to affection and hardness. This is
why the Ionian kind of mode is neither exuberant nor merry, but
is harsh and hard, having a weight that is not without nobility.
Hence this mode is also agreeable to tragedy. But the characters
C of present day Ionians are much more dainty, and the character
of the mode is much different.

[*There follows a chapter inserted from elsewhere*]

21E So the modes are three in number, just as in the beginning
we said that they are, the same number as even the races. The
Phrygian and Lydian modes, which originated with the barba-
rians, became known to the Greeks from the Phrygians and
Lydians who had returned to the Peloponnesus with Pelops. For
F the Lydians followed him because Sipulus is part of Lydia. And
the Phrygians (followed) not because they shared a border with
the Lydians, but because Tantalus ruled them as well. One may
even see all over the Peloponnesus, but mostly in Lacedaemon,
large mounds which they call the tombs of the Phrygians who
came with Pelops. So (Heraclides said) the Greeks learned these
modes from them. This is why Telestes of Selinus,[5] too, says:

626 First alongside the wine bowls of the Greeks
the attendants of Pelops sang to the pipes
the Phrygian melody of the Mountain Mother.
And these with the high-pitched strings of their harps[6]
Played out a Lydian hymn.

[1] Phrygia is a region in the western plateau of Asia Minor.

[2] Lydia is a region in western Asia Minor, east of Smyrna.

[3] Lasus, see **113**.

[4] Pratinas of Phlius is the poet credited with the 'invention' of satyr plays. The fragments are collected in *PMG* 708–13.

[5] Telestes of Selinus (a Greek colony at the SW coast of Sicily) was a poet of dithyramboi who won a victory in Athens in 402/1. The fragments are collected in *PMG* 805–812.

[6] For the *pektis* (πηκτίς), see M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, 71–4.

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se mutata esse suspicabatur Kaibel, probante Wehrli 48 δὲ *add. Kaibel* 52 ἤθη <τε> *propos. Kaibel* 66 Ἑλλήνων *A* 69 τοῖς δ' *A* : *corr. Musurus* ὀξυφώνοις *A* : ὀξύφωνοι *Wilamowitz* *fort.* πακτ- *Page* ψαλμοὶ *A* : *corr. recc.* 70 *fort.* Λυδὸν *Page*

115A Philodemus, De musica 4, PHerc. 1497, col. 49.1–20 (Delattre)

|| . . .] π̣οις κατανοήσαντά τι-
να τῶ]ν εἰρ̣ημένων, ἐν οἷς
[περὶ πρ]έ{ι}π̣οντος μέλους καὶ
[ἀπρεπο]ῦς καὶ περὶ ἠθῶν ἀρ̣σ̣έ-
[νων κα]ὶ μαλακῶν καὶ περὶ
[πρά̣[ξ]ε]ω̣ν ἁρμοττουσῶν κα[ὶ
ἀ][ναρμ]όστων τοῖς ὑποκειμέ-
[νοις πρ]οσώποις· ἅπερ ὁμολο-
γουμέ]νως οὐ μακ̣ρὰν ἀπ⸢η⸣ρ[τ[η]-
μ̣[έ]ν[α τ]ο̣ῦ̣] φιλοσοφε̣ῖν. καὶ παρα-
λαβὼν] πο̣ | λ̣ὺ πρ[ὸ] | το̣ύ|των Ἡρα-
κλείδ]ου πλείω, φησὶ|ν ἐ̣[ξ] αὐ-
τῶ]ν [εἶ]ναι φανερὸν [τ]ὸ π{ο}ρὸς
[π][ο]λ̣[λ]ὰ μέρη τοῦ βίου ⸢χ⸣[ρησι-
μ̣]εύειν τὴν μουσικήν, [καὶ
δ̣ύ]νασθαι τὴν περὶ αὐτὴ[ν]
φ|[ι]λοτεχνίαν οἰκείως ἡμ̣[ᾶς
δ|[ι]α̣τιθέναι πρὸς πλείους [ἀ]-
ρ|[ε]τὰς δοκεῖν αὐτῶι, καὶ πρ̣[ὸς
π̲|[ά]σας.

cf. Diogenes Babylonius fr. 88 (t.3) SVF

1]π̣οις *Delattre*:]τοις *Rispoli*:]οις *Kemke* 2 ἐν οἷς *v. Arnim*: ἐν<ί>οις *Kemke* 6 πρά̣ξε]ων *Rispoli*: κρούσε]ων *v. Arnim* 9 ἀπ⸢η⸣ρ[τ[η]- *Delattre*: ἀπεῖρ|[χθαι *Kemke* 10–11 παρα|[λαβὼν] *Delattre* 11–12 Ἡρα | [κλείδ]ου *coni. Delattre* 14 [π][ο]λ̣[λ]ὰ *Delattre*: [π]ά̣ν̣[τ]α *post Kemke Rispoli* 17 ἡμ̣[ᾶς *post Kemke Rispoli* 19 πρ̣[ὸς *post Kemke Rispoli*

115B Philodemus, De musica 4, PHerc. 1497, col. 137.27–138.9 (Delattre)

162 W ἃ μέν-
τοι Διογένης φησὶν «κατα-
νοήσαντας ἡμᾶς, ἀναγε-
γραμμένα παρ᾽ Ἡρακλεί-
δῃ ⟦κ⟧ περὶ πρέποντος μέλους

115A Philodemus, *On Music* 4, *PHerc*. 1497, col. 49.1–20 (Delattre)

… after taking note of some of the things said, in what (Heraclides wrote) concerning appropriate and inappropriate melody, and about masculine and effeminate characters, and about deeds that are fitting and unfitting to the persons who are their subjects. These things are, it is agreed, not far removed from philosophy. And borrowing much more than this from Heraclides, he says that from these considerations it is clear that music is useful in regard to many aspects of life, and that the love of practising it can dispose us with affinity toward quite a few virtues,[1] he thinks, indeed towards all of them.

[1] For the phrase, see Aristotle, *Eth. Nic*. 10.10 1179b29–30; for the concept *id., Pol*. 8.5 1339a21–5; 1340a5–b19; 6 1341a13–7; 1341b38; Plato, *Rep*. 3 398C–402A6.

115B Philodemus, *On Music* 4, *PHerc*. 1497, col. 137.27–138.9 (Delattre)

Regarding what Diogenes[1] says, “Once we consider what is written down in Heraclides concerning appropriate and inappro-

καὶ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἀρρένων
καὶ μαλακῶν ἠθῶν καὶ
πράξεων ἁρμοττουσῶν
κ[αὶ ἀ]ναρμόστων το[ῖ]ς ὑ-
ποκειμένοις προσώπο[ι]ς,
οὐ μακρὰν ἀπηρτημ̣[έ]-
νως τοῦ φιλοσοφ [ε̣ῖν]», [πεί-
θεσθαι τῷ πρὸς π[ο̣λλὰ] [μ]έ-
ρη τοῦ βίου χρησιμ̣[εύειν]
τὴν μουσ[ι]κὴν κ[αὶ τὴν] πε̣-||
ρὶ αὐτὴν φιλ|οτεχ|νίαν οἰ- **138**
κείως διατιθ̣|έ ⟦σθ⟧ ν|αι πρὸς
πλείους ἀρε̣τάς, μ̣ᾶλ̣λον δὲ
καὶ πά⟦ρ⟧`σ ´ας, ἐκθέντες ἡμεῖς
ἐν τῶι τρίτωι τῶν ὑπομνη-
μάτων καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἄ̣λλοις δὲ
συγγενῶς εἰρημένα,̣ παρεδεί-
ξαμεν ὅσης ἐστὶν γέμοντα
λῃρείας.

= Diogenes Babylonius fr. 88 (t.3) SVF

37–8 -τημ̣[έ]- νως τοῦ *Delattre*: -τ[η]μ[έ]|ν[ην τ]ῆς *Kemke* 38 φιλο-σοφ[ε̣ῖν] *Delattre ex col. 49*: φιλοσοφ[ίας *Kemke* 39–41 *ex col. 49 post Kemke restituit Delattre* 138.2 διατιθ̣έ⟦σ̣θ̣⟧ν̣|αι *Delattre*: διατι[θέν̣]αι *Kemke*

116A Philodemus, De poematis, PHerc. 1677, col. 5.20–6.28 (p. 195–6 Romeo)

[δ]ια{α}λεγ[όμ]ενον μὲν
ὑφ’ ἡμῶ[ν ε]ὐτελές, ὑπὸ
δὲ τοῦ πο[ητοῦ] σεμνὸν
καὶ πολυτελὲς φαίνη-
ται. τότε γείνεσθαί φησι
τὸ πεποιημένον, οὔτε
σεμνότητος οὔτε πο-
λυ[τε]λείας φαινομένης,
ὅταν, ὡς ἔγραψεν, γηθῆι

priate melody, and masculine and effeminate characters, and deeds that are fitting and unfitting to the persons who are their subjects, (these not being) in a way not far removed from philosophy," we believe in the claim that music is useful in regard to many aspects of life, and the love of practising it disposes (us) properly (with affinity) toward quite a few virtues, or rather even all of them — we have set this out in the third (book) of our *Commentaries* as well as similar statements in other authors, and we have shown with how much silliness they are filled.[2]

[1] Diogenes of Babylon was a Stoic philosopher who lived between the middle of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century B.C. The surviving fragments are collected by v. Arnim, *SVF* III 210–243; see *DPhA* 2 D 145.

[2] See Dorandi in *RUSCH*, vol. 15, chap. 1.

116A Philodemus, *On Poems*, *PHerc*. 1677, col. 5.20–6.28 (p.195–6 Romeo)

(when something) being discussed by us appears ordinary, but (when it is being discussed) by the poet (appears) majestic and opulent. Then, he claims, the recherché[1] comes into being, (25) although neither majesty nor opulence appears, when, as he has written, (the reader/listener) feels delight[2] …

[- - - κατὰ] τὴν σύνθεσιν VI 3
[λέγο]μεν, ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς
ἀκατασκεύου λαλιᾶς· ἔτ[ι]
καὶ προπιπτούσης τ[ῆς]
πολυτ[ε]λείας καὶ σε[μνό-
τητος, ἡ] διάνοια{ι} τὴν ἑ-
[τεροί]ωσιν οὐχ ἡ ἀκοὴ{ι}
λέγοιτ' ἂν ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ
μηδ' ἐν εὐφω{ι}νίαι μη-
δ[έ πο]τ' ἐν φωνῆι ταῦτα
κεῖ[σθαι]· διὸ καὶ παράδοξος
⟦ε⟧ἂ[ν φ]α{ι}νείη τοῖς ἐφιστᾶ-
σιν, ὅταν, διαπορήσας
[τί αἴ]τιον γείνεται τού-
του, τὸ παρ' Ἡρ⟦.⟧ακλείδηι
κεῖσθαι νομιζόμενον
[ἀ]ποδιδῶι· [τ]έρατα γάρ ἐσ̣-
[τιν], οὐ ψ̣ευδῆ μόνον,
[τὰ ἀ]κοῦσαι λιγυρότητα καὶ
[ἐμ]μέλειαν, ἣν Ὅμηρος
ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπὶ πάντων
τετήρηκε, σεμνότητ' ἢ τεῖ-
λαι καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἢ
παρέχειν φαντασίαν πο-
[λ]υτελείας καὶ σεμνότη-
{τη}τος·

v 24 τοτὲ *Romeo* : τότε *Schütrumpf* vi 5–28 *cf. Janko 2000, p.135 adn. 3* 8–9 ἑ[τεροί]ωσιν *Janko* : ἐ[λάττ]ωσιν *Romeo* 19–20 [τ]έρατα γάρ ἐσ̣[τιν], οὐ ψ̣ευδῆ μόνον *Mangoni 1993, p.45–6, probante Janko* : [π]έρατα γὰρ εἶ||[πεν] οὐκ ευδημονον ||[. ἀ]κοῦσαι *Romeo* 21 τὰ *suppl. Janko* 24–5 σεμνότη{τη}τ' εἶ̣ναι *Janko*

116B Philodemus, De poematis liber quintus, PHerc. 1425, col. 3.11–6.5 (p. 131–4 Mangoni)

. . .ὑ]πα-
κούει [καὶ τοὺς] ἄλλους
πορεύ[εσθαι, μ]ᾶλλον

VI (3) … according to] the composition (of words) we [mean], or again through the unaffected manner of speaking. (5) Furthermore, even when the opulence appears and the majesty, the mind, not the hearing, may be said to contain the a[ltera]tion,[3] (10) because (of the fact) that these (qualities) do not reside in euphony at all, nor yet in sound. (13) For that very reason he would appear absurd to those who pay attention, when, having gone through the puzzles as to the explanation of this, (17) he offers (by way of explanation) the theory which is believed to be found with Heraclides. (19) For it is monstrous,[4] not merely false, that hearing sonority and musicality, which Homer has recognized and maintained in all cases, either effects[5] majesty and opulence or provides the appearance of opulence and majesty.

[1] Romeo renders τὸ πεποιημένον with “lo straniamento.”

[2] Romeo renders γηθῆι with “provochi diletto.”

[3] Janko reads ἐ̣[τεροί]ωσιν (“alteration”) and renders προπιπτούσης in l. 6 with “appears.” Romeo reads ἐ̣[λάττ]ωσιν (“danno”) and renders προπιπτούσης with “vengono a cadere.”

[4] [τ]έρατα means “monstrous.” Romeo renders her own reading: “Alla fine infatti disse di percepire …”

[5] Janko’s reading σεμνότη{τη}τ’ εἶ[ν̣]αι would give: “… that ‘hearing sonority and musicality, …, *is* majesty and opulence, or …’.”

116B Philodemus, *On Poems*, fifth book, *PHerc*. 1425, col. 3.11–6.5 (p.131–4 Mangoni)

… (11) he understands (this to mean) that [the] others [too] pro-

δὲ καὶ [τὸν Ἡρακ]λείδην,
ὡς κα[τενοήσαμεν. Ἡρ]α-
κλε[ίδης τοίνυν . . . .]ΑΝ
[– – –]ΒΗϹΟ
[– – –] ΤΟΝ
[– – –] ΝΙΕ
τοτε̣ Π[. .]ΕΙ[. . . . .]ΕΝΟϹ
ἡ̣μῖν προσ[. . . .]μένοι[ς]
ταὐτοῦ Ϲ[. . . . .]ΥΝ
ΤΑΘΕ . ΡΩ[. . . . . λέγ]ων
γὰρ ὅτ[ι . . . .]ΩΝ
π̣ο̣ητή[ν . . . .] ΜΟΝ
τοὺς ἀκού[οντας, ὠφε]λεῖν
δὲ τοὺς Ο[. . . . .] εἰ
[μ]ὲν ὠφε[λεῖν εἶπε] πρὸς
ἀρετήν, δ̣ηλον [ἐκ τῶ]ν
[π]ροειρημ[έ]νω[ν . . . . . .
π]εριπιπ[τ . . . . ΑΙΝ[. . .
.]Ν. εἰ̣ δ̣' ἄλ[λω]ς εἶπ̣[ε . . .
desunt 2–3 lineae
ΘΑΙ [ἄθ]λιος, ὅτι πολλῶν IV
οὐ[σ]ῶν ὠφελιῶν οὐ δι-
ώ[ρι]σε̣ν τὴν ποίαν ἀπαι-
τητέον παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
δ[ιό]τι τὸ διὰ τίνων τέρ-
[πει] καὶ τίνα τέρψιν ο[ὐ]
κ ἔ]δ[ε]ιξεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμ-
φ[οῖν] ἀδιόριστον ἀπο-
λέ[λο]ιπε τὴν ἀρετὴν τ[οῦ]
ποη̣τοῦ, κ[αὶ] διότι τὰ κά[λ]-
λιστ[α] ποιήματα τῶν [δο]-
κιμ[ω]τάτων ποητῶ[ν]
διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν
ὠφελίαν παρασκευ[ά]-
ζειν, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ [τὰ]
πλ[εῖ]στα, τινῶν δὲ πά[ν]-
τα [τ]ῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκρ[απί-]
ζει. τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγ[ειν]

ceed (in this way?), and even more so [Herac]lides, as we have [noted]. (14) [Now,] Heracli[des] … (21) us … (22) of the same … (24) For when he [argu]es that … (25) poet … (26) the listen[ers, and benefi]ts the … (27) If, on the one hand, he [has used the word] “benefit” in regard to virtue, it (is) clear [from what] has been said before … (31) fall in with[1] … (33)[2] If, on the other hand, he has used the word in a different [way] …

[*2–3 lines are lost*]

IV (1) … (he is) a [wre]tch, because, there being many (types of) benefiting, he has not defined what (the) type (of benefiting is that) is to be demanded from him (the poet), (4) and because he has not shown through what things he (the poet) gives delight, and what kind of delight, (7) but on both points has left undefined the (particular) excellence of the poet, (10) and because he expels[3] from the (poetical) excellence the most beautiful poems of the most renowned poets (of several actually most of the poems, of a few all), (13) because (of the fact that) they do

τὰ [καὶ] β[λ]άβην κα[ὶ με-]
γίσ[τη]ν, ὅσον ἐφ’ [αὑτοῖς],
πε[ριπ]οιοῦντα, [τί δὲ κα-]
τὰ τ[ὸ]ν λόγον [τὸ μὲν ἐ-]
π’ ἄκ[ρ]ον ὠφελ⌜οῦ⌝ν [τ]ελει-
ότατ[ο]ν ἔσεσθαι, μηδέ-
να δὲ [δύ]νασθαι μήτ[ε] δι-
ὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς μήτ[ε δι-]
ὰ τῆς σοφίας μήτε δ[ιὰ]
πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπι[σ]τη-
μῶν ἐπ’ ἄκρον ἐλαύνον-
τα μετὰ ποιητικῆς [ἐ-]
ξεργα[σ]ίας; καὶ [δ]ὴ γρά-
φων τὸν τέρποντα μέν,
οὐκ ὠφελοῦντα δέ, ποι-
ητικὸμ μὲν εἶναι, τὰ
[δὲ π]ράγμ[ατα μὴ εἰδ]έναι, V
[φ]αί[ν]εται πᾶσαν ἀπαγ-
[γ]ελίαν πραγμάτων ὑπο-
λαμ[βάνει]ν ὠφελεῖν,
[ὃ̣] φανερῶς ψεῦδό[ς ἐ]στιν·
[ε]ἰ δ’ [ἔσ]τιν τις ἀν[ω]φε-
[λ]ής, οὐδὲν κωλ[ύει τ]αῦ-
[τ]α εἰδότα καὶ ποιητι-
[κ]ῶς ἀπαγγέλλοντα
[τ]ὸ[ν ποη]τὴν μηδὲν ὠ-
φελ[εῖν]. ἐπιφορτί[ζει δ]’ ἀλ-
λοτρίως τῶι δοκίμωι
ποιητ[ῆι] καὶ τὴν ἀκρι-
βῆ τῶν κατὰ τὰς δι[αλ]έ-
κτοὺς συνηθειῶν ἐκ-
μάθησιν, ἀπο[χ]ρώσης
τῆ[ς] καθ’ ἣν προαιρεῖται
[γράφει]ν. τῶι δὲ μὴ ΜΕ
ΛΕ. [– – –]Τ [– – –] μ̣[ο]υ̣-
σικῆς ἐπιστήμην ἔ-
χειν. τ[ῶ]ι δὲ τ̣[ὸ]ν τοι-
οῦτ[ο]ν .Ο[. .]Ṇ. [. . . .]Ο
[. . .]Η[.] πᾶσιν τοῖς τρό-

not effect any benefit whatsoever. (18) For what is one to say
of the (poems) that actually effect harm (and very major harm
at that), in so far as depends on themselves?[4] (21) [And what of
the fact that ac]cording to the theory what benefits to the highest
degree will be most perfect, (24) whereas none (of the poets) is
able (to do that),[5] neither by means of the science of medicine
nor by means of that of wisdom nor by means of many other
kinds of knowledge, striving for the highest degree (of perfec-
tion) together with a poetical execution? (30) And indeed, when
he writes that the (poet) who gives delight, but does not benefit,
v may be poetical, (1) but does not know the facts, he seems to
assume that any report of the facts benefits, which is clearly
false. If a (report of the facts) is without profit, there is noth-
ing to hinder that the poet, knowing those (facts) and reporting
them in a poetical manner, does not provide any profit. (11) He
burdens in an improper manner the poet of approved ability also
with the (need of a) thorough mastery of the usages that are in
accordance with the (different types of) language, although the
(mastery) of that type, according to which he chooses to write,
suffices. (18) For the one who … not … (19) to have knowledge
of music. (20) For the one who … the person of that kind …

[ποι]ς. πάσης δ’ ὅλως
[τοῖς] ποητ[α]ῖς γεωμετρί-
[ας καὶ γε]ω[γ]ραφίας καὶ Α
[. . .]Λ̣Ε̣Ο̣[. . . . . . .]Κ[. .]ΚΑ
[. . . .]ΗϹ καὶ ν[αυ]τικῆς
[. . .]ѠΝ . [. . .]Ѡ[.]ΤѠΝ
[– – – ἀναγκ]αίας τοῦ
[– – – προσ]ήκον-
[τος – – –] π[α]ντε-
[λῶς ὅ]σα μὴ χειρουρ[γι]-
κά. χω[ρὶς – – –] VI
ΤΟΝΕΙ [– – –]ΤΑ, μᾶλ-
λον δὲ [– – –]ΟΥΤѠΝ
ἀνθρω[π. . . . . λ]αβεῖν
ΚΑΙΤΟΙ[. . . χειρου]ργίας.

III 13 (μα̣̂λλον) – 16 *vid. Janko (2000) 137 et adn. 5* 29–30 δῆλον ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων *suppl. Kentenich* 30–2 *legit et suppl. Mangoni* : ὅτι οὐ|κ ἔστ]ι τ[έρ]π[ει]ν δι’ ἀρε|[τή]ν. εἰ δ’ἄλ[λω]ς ει ... *Jensen* 31]ΕΡΙΤΗΠ [. .] ΝΔΙΑΡΗ Ο 32 .]ΝΕΙΔΑΛ Ρ IV 1 *suppl. Kentenich* 2–16 *suppl. Dübner* 17–18 *post* ἐκρ[απί]|ζει *spatium* : ἐκριπτάζει *Dübner* 18–20 *suppl. Gomperz* 20 ἐφ’ αὑτοῖς *Mangoni* : ἐφ’ ἡμῖν *Gomperz* 22 *suppl. Gomperz* 23–4 *suppl. Dübner (*23 ΩΦΕΛΩΝ Ρ*)* 25 [δύ]νασθαι *(scil.* ὠφελεῖν*) Dübner et Philippson* : ὅ]νασθαι *Jensen* 31 καὶ [δ]ή *suppl. Mangoni, lectionem* καὶ μὴ<ν> *possibilem ducens ante* καὶ *spatium* 34 *post* εἶναι *spatium* V 1 *suppl. Kentenich* 2 [φ]αί[ν]εται *Mangoni* : φαί[νη]ται *Jensen* 2–3 ἀπαγγελίαν *suppl. Dübner* 5 ὃ *suppl. Dübner* 6 εἰ δ’ ἔστιν *suppl. Dübner* 6–7 ἀνωφελής *suppl. Sudhaus* 7–10 *suppl. Dübner* 18 *post* γράφει]ν *spatium* 18–23 Ρ ΤѠΙΔΕ ΔΗΜΕ | ΛΕΤΑΙ[. .]ΝΤΑϹΑΙΤϹΤΕΥ | ϹΙΚΗΙΕΠΙΣΤΗΜ[. .]ΙΕ | ΧΕΙΝ [. . . .]ΙΔΕ[.]ΝΟΝΤΟΙ |ΟΥΤϹ . ΝΤΕΥ[. .]ΝΝ[. .]ΤΟ | ΗΝΠΑϹΙΝΤΟΙϹΤΡΟ Ο ἢ τὸ τὰ ἔ[θ]η με|λετᾶ[ν πά]ντα καὶ τὸ [φ]υ|σικῆς ἐπιστήμη[ν] ἔ|χειν. [καὶ μὴ] δε[ι]νὸν ποι|οῦ τ[ὸ ἀ]ντέχ[ει]ν [τὸν] ποι|[ητ]ὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς κτλ. *Jensen, at vid. Mangoni p.194* 20–1 *post* ἔ|χειν *spatium* 23–4 *post* τρό|[ποι]ς *spatium* 24, 26 *suppl. Kentenich* 26–8 Ρ ἀ|[στρο]λο[γίας καὶ δι]κα|[στικ]ῆς *Jensen* 27 . . .]Α̣Ε[– – –]ΚΑ Ο . . .]Λ̣ΕϹ[– – –]ΚΑ Ν 29 Ρ; . . .]ΟΝΔ[. .]ѠΝΤѠΝ Ο; [δεῖν] ὀν[ειρ]ώ[τ]των [φη|σίν *Jensen; sed post* ΤѠΝ *margo* 30–3 *legit et suppl. Mangoni* . . . .]ΙΑΡ[. . .]ΑΓΚΑΙΑϹΤΟΥ | [. . . .].ΙΑΙ[– – –]ΗΚΟΝ |[– – –]Π[.]ΝΤΕ | [. . . .]ΙϹΑΜΗΧΕΙΡΟΥΡѠ Ο *varias coniecturas et multum inter se discrepantes Jensen, Philippson, van Krevelen et Zucker conati sunt, vid. app. crit. ap. Mangoni* VI 1–5 χω[ρὶς τοῦ ἄλλων πρῶ]|τον εἶ[ναι τὰ τοιαῦ]τα, →

(22) in all manners.[6] (24) Since to poets on the whole geometry and geography and[7] … (28) and nautical knowledge[8] … (30) (are) necessary the … [be]fitting … (32) altogether all (kinds of
VI knowledge) which are not handicrafts. (1) Apart … but rather … (4) human … (to) take … handicrafts[9]

[1] Mangoni p.189 points out that περιπίπτειν (ἑαυτῷ, τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις) may be used in the sense of "contraddirsi" or "smentirsi"; in that case "Filodemo si riferisce presumibilmente a una contraddizione da lui individuata nel ragionamento dell'avversario."

[2] Jensen's supplement of ll. 30–2 would mean: "that it is not possible to give delight on account of excellence. But if differently …"

[3] ἐκρ[απί]ζει is literally "cudgels out (from)". Dübner's ἐκριπτάζει would mean "throws out (from)."

[4] Gomperz's ἐφ' ἡμῖν would mean "on us."

[5] Jensen's supplement [ὄ]νασθαι would mean: "none would profit by the science of …"

[6] Jensen's supplement of ll. 18–23 would mean "or the fact that he (the poet) studies all habits/characters and the fact that he has knowledge of physics. And do not take it ill that the poet holds his own in all manners."

[7] Jensen's supplement in ll. 26–8 would mean the addition of "astrology" and "the activity of being a member of a jury."

[8] Jensen's supplement in l. 29 would seem to mean "when he claims that (the poet) must …, he is dreaming."

[9] Jensen's supplement of ll. 1–5 would seem to mean: "apart from the fact that that sort of thing belongs to the domain of others in the first place, and even more to that of a philosopher to take cognizance of mankind and such handicraft."

μᾶλλον δὲ [καὶ φιλοσό]φου τῶν | ἀνθρώ[πων γνῶσιν λ]αβεῖν | καὶ τοι[αύτης χειρου]ργίας *Jensen*

Praedictio rerum futurarum (**117–26**)

Res ad praescientiam pertinentes, liber unus] **17** (40)
De oraculis] **17** (54a,b)

117A Cicero, De divinatione 1.23.46 (BT p.30.8–15 Giomini)

132 W matrem Phalaridis scribit Ponticus Heraclides, doctus vir, auditor et discipulus Platonis, visam esse videre in somniis simulacra deorum, quae ipsa [Phalaris] domi consecravisset; ex iis Mercurium e patera, quam dextera manu teneret, sanguinem visum esse fundere; qui cum terram attigisset, refervescere videretur sic, ut tota domus sanguine redundaret. quod matris somnium immanis filii crudelitas comprobavit.

Cf. Val. Max. 1.7 ext.7 2 *De Heraclide Pontico Platonis discipulo vid.* **1** *T ad v.4–5*

3 ipsa phalaris *(ex* phalaridis *B) codd.*: phalaris *primus expunx. Marsus*: quae ipse Phalaris *Davies* 4 is *AB*: his *HMP* patera *ex* pate *B* 5 esset *B* attingeret *Rom.*

117B Tertullianus, De anima 46.6 (p.63.24–5 Waszink)

133 W sed et Dionysii Siciliae tyrannidem Himeraea quaedam somniavit. Heraclides prodidit.

Cf. Timaeus FGrH 566 F 29; Aeschin. or. 2.10; Val. Max. 1.7 ext.6; Phot. Lex. I 49 (t.2, p.318) Theodoridis; Suda I 165 (t.2, p. 614.8–15 Adler); Anecdota Graeca t.1, p.266.9–20 Bekker; Centuria III 25 (CPG t.1, p.421)

118 Tertullianus, De anima 57.10 (p.78.1–4 Waszink)

134 W si et de nocturnis imaginibus opponitur saepe non frustra mortuos visos (nam et Nasamonas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit vel

Prophecies (**117–26**)

Matters Relating to Foreseeing, one book] **17** (40)
On Oracles] **17** (54a, b)

117A Cicero, *On Divination* 1.23.46 (*BT* p.30.8–15 Giomini)

Heraclides Ponticus, a learned man, a pupil and follower of Plato, writes that the mother of Phalaris[1] thought she saw in her dream[2] statues of the gods which she herself had dedicated at home. Of these Mercury appeared to be pouring blood from a libation bowl which he was holding in his right hand, and when it touched the ground it appeared to boil up in such a way that the whole house overflowed with blood. And this dream of the mother has been confirmed by her son's immense cruelty.

[1] Phalaris, see **37** n. 2.
[2] On predictions given in dreams, see Cic. *On Divination* 1.30.63. Philosophers other than Heraclides believed that future events could be revealed during dreams, cp. Plat. *Crit.* 44A6–B5 (Socrates); Cic. *On Divination* 1.25.53 (Aristotle).

117B Tertullian, *On the Soul* 46.6 (p.63.24–5 Waszink)

But a certain woman of Himera[1] also foresaw in a dream the tyrannical rule of Dionysius[2] over Sicily, Heraclides has recorded.

[1] Cp. above **107** n. 1.
[2] Dionysius I was tyrant of Syracuse, *ca*. 430–367 B.C.

118 Tertullian, *On the Soul* 57.10 (p.78.1–4 Waszink)

If concerning visions in the night, too, it is objected that often the dead are seen and not without purpose (for that the Nasamonians,[1] too, received their own oracles tarrying near to the tombs of their ancestors, as Heraclides writes, or Nymphodorus[2]

Nymphodorus vel Herodotus …)

4 *Nymphodorus Syracusanus; hoc fragmentum deest in collectione fragmentorum Nymphodori FHG t.2, p.375–81* *Herodotus 4.172.3*

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2 visos *Urs*: vivos *AB Gelenius*

119 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21 108.1–3 (t.1, p.69.17–25 Stählin-Früchtel)

130 W καὶ οὔτι γε μόνος οὗτος (scil. Μωυσῆς), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Σίβυλλα Ὀρφέως παλαιοτέρα· λέγονται γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν τῶν καταπεφημισμένων ἐκείνης εἶναι λόγοι πλείους, Φρυγίαν τε οὖσαν κεκλῆσθαι Ἄρτεμιν καὶ ταύτην παραγενομένην εἰς Δελφοὺς ᾆσαι·

2 ὦ Δελφοί, θεράποντες ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
ἦλθον ἐγὼ χρήσουσα Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ κεχολωμένη Ἀπόλλωνι.

3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Ἐρυθραία Ἡροφίλη καλουμένη· μέμνηται τούτων Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων.

De aetate Mosis comparata cum ea Orphei et Sibyllae cf. Euseb. Praep. evang. 10.11.27 6–8 *deest in Parke-Wormell* 9 *Herophila Erythraea: Paus. 10.12.7; Herm. In Plat. Phaedr. schol. p.94.25 Couvreur; vid. adn. ad* **120A**; **120C** *adn. ad v.2*

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2 λέγονται *Dindorf*: λέγεται *codd.* 3 καταπεφημισμένων: καταπεφηνισμένων *L*

120A Lactantius, Divinae institutiones 1.6.8; 12 (p.24.3–4, 25.11–14 Heck-Wlosok)

131a W ceterum (scil. Varro scripsit) Sibyllas decem numero fuisse easque omnes enumeravit sub auctoribus qui de singulis scriptaverint …
12 octavam Hellespontiam in agro Troiano natam, vico Marmesso circa oppidum Gergithium, quam scribat Heraclides

or Herodotus …).

[1] The Nasamonians were a tribe living in Libya. They prophesied from dreams that they had at the graves of their ancestors: Hdt. 4.172.

[2] Nymphodorus of Syracuse, who lived at the end of the 3rd century B.C., wrote accounts of travels, among which was *Sailing around Asia* (Περίπλους ᾿Ασίας).

119 Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 108.1–3 (v.1, p.69.17–25 Stählin-Früchtel)

But not only he (Moses), but the Sibyl, too, is older than Orpheus.[1] It is said that there are quite a few stories about her name and about the oracles of that woman that were spread abroad, for example, that she was Phrygian[2] and had been called Artemis, and that she arrived in Delphi and sang:

2 Oh Delphians, servants of far-shooting Apollo,
I have come to pronounce the mind of Zeus the aegis bearer,
angry at my very own brother Apollo.

3 There is also another (Sibyl) from Erythrae, called Herophila.[3] Heraclides Ponticus mentions these in his (treatise) *On Oracles*.

[1] Orpheus, see **111**.

[2] Phrygian, see **114** n. 1.

[3] For the Sibyl from Erythrae (a city in Asia Minor, opposite the island of Chios) called Herophila, see below **120C** n. 1. It seems that Heraclides was the first to introduce the distinction of the two sibyls mentioned here, see Rohde, vol. 2, p. 66 n. 1. Herophila was also the name of a prophetess in Delphi who foretold the Trojan war: Paus. 10.12.2. In *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* F 1 (p. 60.31–2 Erbse) Herophila is one name of the Sibyl of Cumae.

120A Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.6.8; 12 (p.24.3–4, 25.11–14 Heck-Wlosok)

(Varro[1] wrote that) furthermore the Sibyls have been ten in number, and he has listed them all under the authors who have
12 written about each of them … The eighth was the Hellespontian Sibyl, born in the Trojan plain in the village Marmessus near the town Gergithium. Heraclides Ponticus wrote that she lived

Ponticus Solonis et Cyri fuisse temporibus.

1 *Decem Sibyllae: Ael. Var. hist. 12.35, contradicit Mart. Cap. 2.159* 3-4 *Cf. Dion. Hal. Antiquit. 1.55.4; Mart. Cap. 2.159:* Herophilam *(cf.* **119** *adn. ad v. 9)* Troianam Mermessi filiam

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4 Marmesso *cf. app. crit.* **120B** *v.2* sciba : ba *in ras. KS* : scribit $H^{2}WR^{2}$ eraclidus *K* 5 solonicus $K^{1}S$ cyrii *DVP*

120B Scholion in Platonis Phaedrum 244B (p.80 Greene)

131b W ὀγδόη (scil. Σίβυλλα) ἡ Ἑλλησποντία, ἥτις ἐν κώμῃ Μαρμισσῷ τὴν γένεσιν ἔσχεν περὶ τὴν πολίχνην Γεργετίωνα· ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν δὲ αὕτη τῆς Τροίας ἐτύγχανεν. ἦν ἐν καιρῷ Σόλωνος καὶ Κύρου, ὡς ἔγραψεν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

1 *Sibylla Marpessi genita, vivens ante Troianum bellum: Paus. 10.12.2–4*

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2 Μαρμισσῷ *codd. (cf. Steph. Byz. 445.15–7* Μερμήσσος*), at vid. testim. ad* **120C** *v.2* 2–3 Γεργετίωνα : Γεργίθιον **120C**, *ubi vid. app. crit. ad v.2* 3 (ἦν) – 5 (ὁ Ποντικός) *add. vulg.*

120C Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta, fr. 1 (BT p. 60.34-61.37 Erbse)

131c W ὀγδόη (scil. Σίβυλλα) ἡ Ἑλλησποντία τεχθεῖσα ἐν κώμῃ Μαρπησσῷ περὶ τὴν πολίχνην Γεργίθιον, αἳ τῆς ἐνορίας ποτὲ τῆς Τρῳάδος ἐτύγχανον, ἐν καιροῖς Σόλωνος καὶ Κύρου, ὡς ἔγραψεν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

= Anonymus Vindobonensis in: E. Maass, De Sibyllarum Indicibus Dissertatio, Greifswald 1879, p.39, cf. p.43 1–4 (Κύρου) *cf. Suda Σ 361 s.v.* Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία *(t.4, p.355.1–3) Adler* 2 Μαρπησσῷ, *cf. Paus. 10.12.3–4; Suda M 225 s.v.* Μάρπησσος *(t.3, p.330.22) Adler; Tib. 2.5.67–8* Marpesia Herophile 2–3 Γεργίθιον, *cf. Str. 13 589 (t.3, p.550.30 Radt); Steph. Byz. s.v.* Γέργις *Gergithium in Troade situm: Hdt. 5.122.2*

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2 (αἳ) – 3 (ἐτύγχανον) *D' Suda* : ἥτις ἐνορία ποτὲ τρωάδος ἐτύγχανεν *Φ*

at the time of Solon[2] and Cyrus.[3]

[1] See **19A** n. 2.
[2] For Solon, see **32–5**.
[3] Cyrus I, 6th century B.C., was the founder of the Persian empire.

120B Scholion on Plato's *Phaedrus* 244B (p.80 Greene)

The eighth (*sc*. Sibyl) (is) the Hellespontian, who was born in the village Marmissus[1] near the small town Gergetion, which happened to be in the territory of Troy. She lived at the time of Solon and Cyrus, as Heraclides Ponticus wrote.

[1] For the spelling Marmissus (Μαρμισσός), see *Suda* σ 1361 under Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία (v. 4, p. 355.1 Adler).

120C *Fragments of the Theosophers,* fr. 1 (*BT* p.60.34–61.37 Erbse)

The eighth (*sc*. Sibyl), the Hellespontian, was born in the village Marpessus[1] near the small town Gergithium, which once happened to be within the boundaries of the Troad, in the time of Solon and Cyrus, as Heraclides Ponticus has written.

[1] This is the spelling in the *Suda* μ 225 under Μάρπησσος (v. 3, p. 330.22 Adler). It is the original form ("die alte Form", Erbse 1941, 38 n. 93). The source of Paus. 10.12.3–4 claimed that the Sibyl of Marpessus was the Erythraean (**119** n. 3), called after the red (in Greek ἐρυθρά, *erythra*) soil around Marpessus. Cp. Stephanus of Byzantium (445.15–7 Meineke) under "Mermessus."

121 Scholion in Pindari Olympionicas 6.119 (t.1, p.180.3–8 Drachmann)

135 W τὸ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων μαντεύεσθαι. οὕτως δὲ μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἰαμίδαι μαντεύονται, ἔμπυρα θύματα τιθέντες ἐν τῷ βωμῷ. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρησμῶν τοῖς δέρμασί φησιν αὐτοὺς μαντεύεσθαι ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν δερμάτων, πότερον εὐθεῖαί εἰσιν ἢ οὔ.

Cf. Schol. in Pind. Ol. 6.111d (t.1, p.179.3–7 Drachmann)

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3 χρησμῶν *codd. (vid.* **17** (54b)*)*: χρηστηρίων *Müller FHG (t.2), p.197 adn.3 (in p. 198) (vid.* **17** (54a)*)* 4 εἰς τὰς *suppl. Boeckh (ex V)*

122A Scholion in Hesiodi Scutum 70 (p.26–7 Ranke)

137a W Παγασαίου. Πάγασος, πόλις καὶ τόπος τῆς Θετταλίας, ὠνομασμένος παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὼ πεπῆχθαι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων, διὰ τὸ ἐν Παγασαῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ἱδρῦσθαι.

Scholia in Hesiodi Scutum attribuuntur Diacono Pediasimo (A.D. 14), vid. Rzach, RE t. VIII 1, col. 1228

3–4 χρηστηρίων τὸν ἐν Παγασαῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ἱδρῦσθαί φησι *ed. Bas. 1542 (ex cod. Cantabr.)*

122B Etymologicon Magnum s.v. Παγασαῖος (col. 1833 646.39–41 Gaisford) cum additamento cod. Laurentiani 304 B St. Marci (E. Miller, Mélanges de Littérature Grecque, Paris 1868, p.233)

137b W ΠΑΓΑΣΑΙΟΣ λέγεται ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ Παγάσης. ἔστι δὲ τόπος τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ πόλις, παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὼ πεπῆχθαι. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρηστηρίων, διὰ τὸ ἐν Παγάσαις ὅ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τροφωνίου ἱδρῦσθαι.

121 Scholion on Pindar's *Olympian* 6.119 (v.1, p.180.3–8 Drachmann)

Making prophecies through burnt offerings: The Iamidae[1] prophesy in this way up to the present day, by placing burnt offerings on the altar. Heraclides says in his (treatise) *On Oracles* that they prophesy by the skins, looking at the clefts of the skins (to see), whether or not these are straight.

[1] The Iamidae were a family of seers in Elis who prophesied at Olympia.

122A Scholion on Hesiod's *Shield of Heracles* 70 (p.26–7 Ranke)

Of Pagasaean (Apollo): Pagasus[1] is a city and a place in Thessaly so named because there the Argo had been built.[2] Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Oracles* (says it is so named) because the (sanctuary) of Apollo in Pagasae had been founded by Trophonius.[3]

[1] Pagasae (later Pagasus) was a city in Thessaly, on the north coast of the gulf of Pagasae, near Demetrias.

[2] πεπῆχθαι (*pepêchthai*). Cp. Strabo 9.5.15 436: according to legend, the place was so named because the Argo was built (ναυ-πηγία, *nau-pêgia*) there; for Strabo more credibly the name is explained from the many springs (πηγαί, *pêgai*) there.

[3] Trophonius, cp. **143**.

122B *Great Etymological Lexicon* under "Pagasaean" (col.1833 646.39–41 Gaisford) with addition of the Laurentian codex 304 B of St. Marc (E. Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868, p.233)

Apollo is called PAGASAEAN after Pagase. This is a place in Thessaly and a city, (named) from the fact that the Argo had been built[1] there. Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Oracles* (says it is so named) because the (oracle) that is in Pagasae had been founded by Trophonius.

[1] In Greek πεπῆχθαι (*pepêchthai*). See **122A** n. 2.

123 Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De declinatione nominum, Περὶ τῶν εἰς ῆς (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. post., p.690.5–11 Lentz)

138 W τὸ γὰρ κύριον ὄνομα τὸ Πέρσης εἰς η ἔχει τὴν κλητικὴν οἷον ὦ Πέρση ὡς παρ᾽ Ἡσιόδῳ·

ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ.

σημειούμεθα παρ᾽ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ χρησμῶν, ὅτιπερ καὶ λέγουσί τινες πεπλασμένον εἶναι, τὸ

[ὦ] Πέρση ποικιλόδιφρε † ἰδὼν † ἄπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι.

ἔστι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐθνικὸν καὶ εἰς η καταλήγει ἡ κλητική.

= Georg. Choeroboscus Schol. in Theodosii Alexandrini Canones isagogicos de flexione nominum, masc. 4 (GG t.4.1 p.163.29–37 Hilgard); Theodosius Canones, in: Bekker, Anecdota Graeca t.3, p.1189 no.21 3 *Hes. op. 27* 6–7 = Parke-Wormell no. 99

5 πεπλασμένον *VP* : πεπλανημένον *NC* : πεπλανημένα *Bekker, Anecdota Graeca l.l* 6 ὦ *NC* : *unius litterae rasura V* : *om. P* ἰδὼν *VP* : ἵνδ᾽ *N* : ἵν᾽ *C* : ἱερῶν *Parke*

124 Zenobius, Centuria 2.84 (CPG, t.1, p.53.18–23 Leutsch-Schneidewin)

136 W Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο· αὕτη καταρατική ἐστιν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ φησί, μαντευομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις περὶ πολέμου ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ προφῆτις ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ἔσεσθαι. εἷς δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν ἁρπάσας Μυρτίλαν τὴν προφῆτιν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς θερμοῦ παρακείμενον λέβητα.

Cf. Dicaearch. fr. 82 Mirhady; Ephorus FGrH 70 F 119; Plut. Cent. 1.9 (CPG t.1, p.322); Append. 3.97 (ibid. p.434–5); Procl. Bibl. in: Phot. Bibl. 321b34–322a13 (t.5, p.164–5 Henry); Eur. TrGF (t.5, pars 1, p.407) F 368

1 μαντεύσαιο : μαντεύσαις *B* : μαντεύσειας *Plut. l.c*

125 Plutarchus, De Iside et Osiride 27 361E–F (BT t.2, fasc. 3, p.26.20–4 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

139 W οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι καὶ Ἶσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν, ὡς Ἀρχέμαχος εἴρηκεν ὁ Εὐβοεὺς

123 Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On the Declension of Nouns*, “On words (nouns) ending in -ês” (*GG* part 3, v.2, fasc. post. p.690.5–11 Lentz)

The proper name Perses has its vocative ending in an *ê* (*êta*), for example, Oh *Persê*, as in Hesiod:

Oh *Persê*, store this in your heart.

We notice in Heraclides in his (treatise) *On Oracles* that some people in fact say that the (following) verse was forged:

[Oh] *Persê* (i.e., Persian) of the multi-colored chariot,
†looking† … (to) keep your hands off.

For here we have the name of a nation and the vocative ends in an *ê* (*êta*).[1]

[1] Whereas it should end in a short *a* (Πέρσᾰ).

124 Zenobius, *Centuria* 2.84 (*CPG*, v.1, p.53.18–23 Leutsch-Schneidewin)

Prophesize to the Boeotians: This one is a curse. For Heraclides says that when the Boeotians were consulting the oracle about a war, the prophetess at Dodona[1] answered that they would gain victory if they committed sacrilege. So one of the envoys seized the priestess Myrtila and threw her into a cauldron of hot water that was standing nearby.

[1] Dodona, in Epirus, north-western Greece, was the site of an oracle.

125 Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 27 361E–F (*BT* v.2, fasc. 3, p.26.20–4 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

For people say that Sarapis[1] is none other than Pluto[2] and Isis (none other than) Persephone (Persephassa), as Archemachus

καὶ ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανώβῳ
F Πλούτωνος ἡγούμενος εἶναι.

1 *De Sarapide vid. Clem. Al. Protr. 4.48; Tac. Hist. 4.83–4 (84.3:* sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum*); Origen. C. Cels. 5.38* *De Sarapide et Plutone vid. Plut. De sollert. anim. 36 984A-B; de Iside et Persephone vid. Apul. Metam. 11.5* 2 *Archemachos = FGrH 424 F 6*

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2 τὴν *codd.* : ἢ τὴν *Reiske* 3 ἡράκλειτος *codd.* : *corr. Xylander*

126 Cicero, De divinatione 1.57.130 (BT p.74.11–18 Giomini)

141 W etenim Ceos accepimus ortum Caniculae diligenter quotannis solere servare coniecturamque capere, ut scribit Ponticus Heraclides, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit. nam si obscurior <et> quasi calignosa stella extiterit, pingue et concretum esse caelum, ut eius adspiratio gravis et pestilens futura sit; sin inlustris et perlucida stella apparuerit, significari caelum esse tenue purumque et propterea salubre.

1 etenim *Cantabr. et Reg. teste Davisio: ita coni. Manutius*: ut enim *codd.* 1–2 quod (*corr.* in quot *M*) annis (quodannis *corr. in* quotannis *F*) *BMF* 4 et quasi *Davies ex codd. Cantabr. et Reg.*: quasi *codd.* 4–5 extiterit – aspiratio *mg. add. m. alt. B* 6 si illustris *V* apparuit *V* significare *BM* 7 purumque *ex* puerumque *B*

De Philosophis et Sapientibus (**127–32**)

Adversus Democritum] **17** (20)
Adversus doctrinas Zenonis, liber unus] **17** (26)

the Euboean[3] has said and Heraclides Ponticus, who thinks the
F oracle in Canopus[4] belongs to Pluto.

[1] Sarapis (later called Serapis) was an Egyptian god whose cult was advanced under Ptolemy I Soter (*ca*. 367/6–283/2 B.C.), the successor of Alexander the Great. The foundation of this cult is dated to the last years of the reign of Ptolemy I, that is at least a generation after Heraclides' death. However, the oracle in Canopus mentioned by Heraclides need not be related to the cult of Sarapis as established by Ptolemy I, but might refer to Osiris with whom Sarapis had close links; see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols., Oxford 1972), v. 1, p. 246–57; v. 2, p. 405–6, n. 515. Schrader, *Philologus* 44, 1885, 283 n. 3, considers the possibility that this fragment belongs to Heraclides Ponticus the younger who, according to the *Etymol. Gudianum* p. 297.49–51, wrote about Canobus, after whom this place was named (Strab. 17.1.17 801). Sarapis was likened to various Greek gods, among them Zeus, Dionysus and Hades, see Diod. Sic. 1.25.2.

[2] Pluto is a different name for the deity Hades.

[3] Archemachus the Euboean, probably of the 3rd century B.C., was author of a local history of Euboea; the fragments are collected in *FGrH* 424.

[4] Canopus (Greek: Κάνωβος, *Kanobos*) was a city at the mouth of the Nile and an important religious center.

126 Cicero, *On Divination* 1.57.130 (*BT* p.74.11–8 Giomini)

We have been told that the people of Ceos, for example, are accustomed to observe the rising of the dog star closely every year and to base on it a conjecture, as Heraclides Ponticus writes, whether the coming year is to be one of health or plague. For if the star has risen rather dimly and as if in a haze, this signifies that the heaven is thick and solid, with the result that what one breathes in from it will be heavy and unwholesome. But if the star has appeared brilliant and very clear, this signifies that the sky is fine and pure and therefore healthy.

Philosophers and Wise Men (**127**–**32**)

In Reply to Democritus] **17** (20)
In Reply to the doctrines of Zeno, one book] **17** (26)

Adversus doctrinas Metronis, liber unus] **17** (27)
Heracliti explicationes, libri quattuor] **17** (41)
Adversus Democritum explicationes, liber unus] **17** (42)
Adversus Dionysium, liber unus] **17** (48)
De Pythagoreis] **17** (50)
Zoroastres] **17** (56)
Abaris] **17** (57a,b)
De bono, liber unus] **17** (25)

De Heraclide Platonis lectiones de bono audiente et excipiente, vid. **9**

127 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.15 (BT t.1, p.641.7–11 Marcovich)

39 W πλεῖστοί τέ εἰσιν, ὅσοι ἐξήγηνται αὐτοῦ (scil. Ἡρακλείτου) τὸ σύγγραμμα. καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Κλεάνθης τε [ὁ Ποντικὸς] καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδοτος.

= Hieronym. Rhod. fr. 51 White 2 *Antisthenes Heracliteus: Diog. Laert. 6.19 = 66 A 1 (t.2, p.70) DK* 3 *Cleanthes: hic locus deest in SVF t.1 Sphaerus: hic locus deest in SVF t.1. Sphaerus scripsit quinque libros de Heraclito: Diog. Laert. 7.178* 4–5 *Pausanias Heracliteus; Nicomedes; Dionysius vid. 22 A 1 (t.1, p.142.30) DK* 5 *Diodotus Diog. Laert. 9.12*

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3 ὁ Ποντικὸς *del. Bake* 4 ἡρακλειτιστὴς *PF*: ἡρακλείτης τῆς *B*: ἡρακλείδης *D*

128 Porphyrius, De abstinentia 1.26.2–4 (p.60–1 Bouffartigue)

40 W ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀσεβὲς τὸ κτείνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν, δηλοῖ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πυθαγόραν, τῶν μὲν πάλαι διδόντων γάλα πίνειν τοῖς ἀθλοῦσι καὶ τυροὺς δὲ ἐσθίειν ὕδατι βεβρεγμένους, τῶν δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους ταύτην μὲν ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν δίαιταν, διὰ <δὲ> τῶν ξηρῶν σύκων τὴν τροφὴν ποιουμένων τοῖς ἀθληταῖς, πρῶτον περιελόντα τὴν ἀρχαίαν κρέα διδόναι

In Reply to the doctrines of Metron, one book] **17** (27)
Expositions of Heraclitus, four books] **17** (41)
Expositions in Reply to Democritus, one book] **17** (42)
In Reply to Dionysius, one book] **17** (48)
On the Pythagoreans] **17** (50)
Zoroaster] **17** (56)
Abaris] **17** (57a, b)
On the Good, one book] **17** (25)

For Heraclides being present at and writing up Plato's lectures *On the Good*, see **9**.

127 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 9.15 (*BT* v.1, p.641.7–11 Marcovich)

And there are a great many who have explained his (Heraclitus') work. For (among them are) Antisthenes[1] and Heraclides Ponticus and Cleanthes[2] and Sphaerus the Stoic,[3] and in addition the Pausanias who is called Heraclitean, and Nicomedes and Dionysius,[4] and of the grammarians Diodotus.[5]

[1] Antisthenes, see *DPhA* 1 A 218.
[2] Cleanthes of Assos, *ca*. 331–232 B.C., was a student of Zeno (cp. **5**) and became his successor as head of the Stoic school. The fragments are collected in *SVF* v. 1, p. 103–39; see *DPhA* 2 C 138.
[3] Sphaerus the Stoic, of Borysthenes, 3rd century B.C., was a student of Zeno and Cleanthes. The fragments are collected in *SVF* v. 1, p. 139–42.
[4] Dionysius, see *DPhA* 2 D 169.
[5] The grammarian Diodotus, about whose lifetime we have no information, interpreted Heraclitus' work and wanted it to be understood as referring not to nature, but to the political constitution, see *DPhA* 2 D 135.

128 Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 1.26.2–4 (p.60–1 Bouffartigue)

That it is not impious to kill and to eat (animals) is demonstrated by the following story about Pythagoras[1] himself. People in ancient times used to give athletes milk to drink and cheese soaked in water to eat, while their successors disapproved of this diet and prepared nourishment for their athletes consisting of

τοῖς γυμναζομένοις καὶ πολὺ διαφέρουσαν πρὸς ἰσχὺν
3 εὑρεῖν δύναμιν. ἱστοροῦσι δέ τινες καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν
4 ἐμψύχων τοὺς Πυθαγορείους, ὅτε θύοιεν θεοῖς. τοιαῦτα μὲν
δὴ τὰ παρὰ Κλωδίῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ Ποντικῷ Ἑρμάρχῳ τε τῷ Ἐπικουρείῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ τοῦ Περιπάτου, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀπηγγέλθη, περιείληπται.

1–8 *cf. Favorin. fr. 44 et fr. 58 Barigazzi; Porph. Vita Pyth. 15* 2–9 *Diog. Laert. 8.12* 8 (ἱστοροῦσι) *sqq.*: *Arist. fr. 194 R³; Gell. Noct. Att. 4.11.1–12; Diog. Laert. 8.20; Porph. Vita Pyth. 34; 36; id. De abst. 2.28; Iambl. Vita Pyth. 85; 98; Plut. Quaest. conv. 3 729C; Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 28, at cf. infra* **149** *vv. 15–16* 10–11 *Hermarch. fr. 34 Longo Auricchio*

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5 δὲ *add. Hercher* τῶν *abesse mavult Nauck* 10 δὴ *Nauck*: καὶ *codd.* Ἑρμάρχῳ *Bernays (Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit, Berlin 1886, p.139)*: Ἑρμάχῳ *codd.*

129 Ioannes Lydus, De Mensibus 4.42 (BT p.99.17–23 Wünsch)

41 W ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης φησίν, ὡς εἴ τις τὸν κύαμον ἐν καινῇ θήκῃ ἐμβαλὼν ἀποκρύψει τῇ κόπρῳ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πάσας ἡμέρας, εἰς ὄψιν ἀνθρώπου σεσαρκωμένου μεταβαλόντα τὸν κύαμον εὑρήσει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ποιητὴν φάναι·

ἶσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλάς τε τοκήων.

Cf. Hippolyt. Haer. 2.14 (Marvovich); Pythagor. Texts p.159.10–4 Thesleff 6 *= fr. 291 Orphicorum Fragmenta Kern, cf. Plut. Quaest. conviv. 2.1 635E; Clem. Al. Strom. 3.3 24.2* ἶσόν τοι κυάμους τρώγειν κεφαλάς τε τοκήων*; Ath. 2.72 65F* 'ἶσον καὶ κυάμων τε τρώγειν κεφαλῶν τε' οὐ 'τοκήων' μόνον ...*; Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. hypoth. 3.224. De Pythagora iubente fabis abstinere vid. Empedocl. 31 B 141 DK; Cic. De div. 1.30.62; Callim. fr. 553 Pf.; Luc. Dial. mort. 20.3*

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1 Ποντικὸς *om. X* 2 κενῇ *X*

130 Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 1 14E (BT t.1, p.28.4–11 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

73 W ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λεγομένων οἱ σφόδρα νέοι τοῖς

dried figs. Pythagoras was the first to abolish the ancient diet and
give meat to athletes in training, and to discover a far superior
3 source of strength. Some record that the Pythagoreans themsel-
ves, too, touched (*i.e.*, ate) living creatures when they sacrificed
4 to the gods. Such are the things (found) in Clodius[2] and Heracli-
des Ponticus and Hermarchus the Epicurean[3] and those writers
from the Stoa and the Peripatos, in which are included also those
of your stories that have been reported to us.

[1] See **25** n. 1.

[2] Clodius Sextus from Sicily was a contemporary of Cicero. In Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 1.3.3 a book against vegetarians is ascribed to a Clodius of Naples. For the identity see Brzoska *RE* IV 1, col. 66–7 (Clodius 13), see *DPhA* 2 C 176.

[3] Hermarchus of Mytilene, the Epicurean, was a younger contemporary and student of Epicurus whom he succeeded as head of the Epicurean school, cp. *Vit. Epicur.* 15 (p. 367.2–3 Usener); 25 (p. 369.14 Usener), see *DPhA* 3 H 75.

129 John of Lydia, *On Months* 4.42 (*BT* p.99.17–23 Wünsch)

Heraclides Ponticus says that if somebody throws a bean into a new coffin and covers it with dung for a full forty days, he will find that the bean has changed into the appearance of a human in full flesh. And (he continues) this is why the poet said:

> It is the same, you see, whether you eat beans or the heads of your parents.

130 Plutarch, *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry* 1 14E (*BT* v.1, p.28.4–11 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

It is clear to us that very young men enjoy, among the dis-

μὴ δοκοῦσι φιλοσόφως μηδ’ ἀπὸ σπουδῆς λέγεσθαι χαίρουσι μᾶλλον καὶ παρέχουσιν ὑπηκόους ἑαυτοὺς καὶ χειροήθεις, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ Αἰσώπεια μυθάρια καὶ τὰς ποιητικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὸν Ἄβαριν τὸν Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τὸν Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀρίστωνος διερχόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ ψυχῶν δόγματα μεμιγμένα μυθολογίᾳ μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἐνθουσιῶσιν.

= Lyco fr. 23 SFOD; Arist. Dialogi IV (p.44.27–45.5) R^3 6 *Lyco Aristonis: SdA (t.6) fr. 33*

5 ἀλλὰ *post* ὑποθέσεις *m. post. in* α 6 ἀλλὰ καὶ *inserunt* G^2X^3V : <καὶ> τὰ <ἄλλα> *Crönert*

131 Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.178. 27–31 Bekker)

74 W ὑλακτῶ· αἰτιατικῇ. Ἡρακλείδου Ποντικοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου λόγου τῶν εἰς τὸν Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων· ‘ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐγγὺς φωλεῶν ἐξείρπυσαν ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα σφοδρῶς ὀρούοντες. ἐκωλύοντο μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ὑλακτούντων αὐτούς.’

132 Lexica Segueriana, De syntacticis (Anecdota Graeca, t.1, p.145. 21–7 Bekker)

75 W ἐπιστρέφομαι ... Ἡρακλείδου Ποντικοῦ τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων· ‘ἔφη δὲ τὸ δένδρον αὐτῷ τὸν δαίμονα, νεανίαν γενόμενον, ἐπιθεῖναι, προστάξαι δὲ πιστεύειν περὶ θεῶν, ὡς εἰσίν τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστρέφονται πραγμάτων.’

3–4 *credere deos existere, cf. Plat. Leg. 10.890D5* 4–5 *credere deos curare de rebus humanis, cf. Plat. Leg. 10.885B; 900B; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 217*

2 δένδρον *codd.* : δεύτερον *Wehrli* 3 ἐπιθεῖναι *codd.* : ἐπιδεῖξαι *Cors-*

courses in philosophy, more the ones that seem not to be expressed philosophically, or even seriously, and that they offer themselves as a receptive and amenable audience of these. For in reading through not only Aesop's fables and the stories of the poets and Heraclides' *Abaris* and Ariston's *Lyco*, but also the doctrines about souls mixed with mythology, they are inspired as well as delighted.

131 *Seguerian Lexica*, *On Syntax* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1, p.178.27–31 Bekker)

I bark: with the accusative case. From Heraclides Ponticus's second book of *What is attributed to Abaris*:[1] "Out of the nearby holes crept forth snakes, charging vehemently at his body. But they were stopped by the dogs barking at them."

[1] τῶν εἰς Ἄβαριν ἀναφερομένων: this might imply an indication that the utterances attributed to Abaris (cp. Lévy 1926, 24) did not necessarily contain authentic material but were rather fictitious, cp. Diog. Laert. 8.8: Ion of Chios said that Pythagoras composed some poems and attributed (ἀνενεγκεῖν) them to Orpheus, cf. Hirzel 1895, T. 1, p. 329 n. 3.

132 *Seguerian Lexica*, *On Syntax* (*Anecdota Graeca* v.1, p.145.21–7 Bekker)

I pay attention to: … From Heraclides Ponticus's *What is attributed to Abaris*. "He said that the divine spirit, having become a young man, placed the tree upon him and ordered him to believe about the gods that they exist and pay attention to human affairs."[1]

[1] For the various attempts to change the Greek text and to interpret this fragment, see Gottschalk pp. 119–21.

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sen, RhM 67 (1912) 28 4 ὡς εἰσίν τε *Lévy 1926, 26*: ὡς οἷόν τε *cod.*: ὅτι ὡς οἷόν τε *Bekker*

Descriptiones Terrae et Morum (**133–40**)

De insulis] **17** (53)

133 Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De prosodia catholica liber 8 (GG pars 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.4–6 Lentz)

124 W ’Ωλίαρος· νῆσος τῶν Κυκλάδων μία, περὶ ἧς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων οὕτω φησίν· ‘ ’Ωλίαρος Σιδωνίων ἀποικία ἀπέχουσα Πάρου σταδίους ιη´.’ τὸ ἐθνικὸν ’Ωλιάριος, ὡς Ἄμυρος Ἀμύριος.

= Steph. Byzant. s.v. ’Ωλίαρος *(p.708.9–12 Meineke)*

3 ιη´ *PpRV* : μή P^{r} : πεντήκοντα ὀκτώ *A* : νή *W*

134 Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos (Σ 48) Στρύμη (p.242 Keaney)

125 W Στρύμη· ... Ἡρακλείδης ἢ Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τῷ Περὶ νήσων φησίν· ‘ἀποικίαι δέ εἰσι Θασίων <ἐπὶ> τῆς Θρᾴκης Γαληψὸς καὶ Στρύμη ἡ νῆσος.’

1 *Philostephanus: FHG (t.3, p.32) fr. 19* 2–3 Γαληψός *Phot. Lex. Γ 15; Suda Γ 38 (t.1, p.506.28–9) Adler (v.l.* Γαλιψός*); Steph. Byz. s.v.*

2 ἐπὶ *add. Bekker* 3 ἡ νῆσος *om. C*

135A Plinius, Naturalis historia 4.23.70 (BT t.1, p.330.10–13 Ian-Mayhoff)

126 W Melos cum oppido, quam Aristides Mimblida appellat, Aristoteles Zephyriam, Callimachus Mimallida, Heraclides Siphin et

Descriptions of Lands and Customs (**133–40**)

On Islands] **17** (53)

133 Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Universal Prosody*, Book 8 (*GG* part 3, v.1, t.1, p.194.4–6 Lentz)

Oliaros:[1] One island in the Cyclades, about which Heraclides Ponticus in his (treatise) *On Islands* says this: Oliaros is a colony of the Sidonians eighteen stades distant from Paros. The name of one of its people is Oliarian, just as someone from Amyros[2] (is named) an Amyrian.

[1] Oliaros was an island in the Cyclades: Strabo 10.5.3 485.
[2] Amyros was a city on the Magnesian peninsula in Thessaly.

134 Harpocration, *Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators* (Σ 48) under "Stryme" (p.242 Keaney)

Stryme: … Heraclides or Philostephanus[1] in his (treatise) *On Islands* says: Galepsus[2] and the island Stryme are colonies of the Thasians in Thrace.

[1] Philostephanus of Cyrene was a student of Callimachus. He was the author of geographical and antiquarian works, dealing with aetiological and marvelous topics, among them *On Islands* (this title: *FHG* 3, fr. 11; all fragments of this work: *ibid.* 10–19, p. 30–4).
[2] Situated on the coast of Thrace, south-east of the mouth of the river Strymon.

135A Pliny, *Natural History* 4.23.70 (*BT* v.1, p.330.10–13 Ian-Mayhoff)

Melos[1] has a city (of the same name). Aristides calls (the island of Melos) Mimblis, Aristotle Zephyria, Callimachus Mimallis, and Heraclides Siphis and Acyta. This is the most cir-

Acytan; haec insularum rotundissima est.

1 *Aristides FGrH 444 F 6* 1–2 *Arist. fr. 555* R^3 2 *Zephyria* : *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Μῆλος *(p.450.9–11 Meineke)* *Callim. fr. 582 Pf.; Solin. Coll. rer. memorab. 11.32, cf. Hsch. s.v.* Μίμαλις

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2 siphin *AR* : sipin *da* : syphin F^2 E^2 : sypin F^1 : sypina E^1 : siphnum *editores veteres* 3 acytan *Detlefsen (ed. Plinii 1866)* : acyton *Hermolaus Barbarus e Steph. Byz.* : Acita *RE*^{1}*a* : acitia *AE*^{2} : acitiam *editores veteres*

135B Plinius, Naturalis historia I (iv) (BT t.1, p.15.47, 16.49, 17.10 Ian-Mayhoff)

L. IIII CONTINENTUR ... (EX AUCTORIBUS) EXTERNIS ... Heraclide

Cf. **91B**

136 Suda N 27 s.v. Ναξία (glossa marginalis) (LG t.3, p.436.1–4 Adler)

127 W ... καὶ Κυκλὰς δὲ νῆσος ἐπίσημος ἡ Νάξος, ἢ ἀπό τινος Νάξου ἢ παρὰ τὸ νάξαι, ὅ ἐστι θῦσαι. φασὶ δὲ τὰς ἐκεῖ Ναξίας γυναῖκας μόνας ὀκτάμηνα τίκτειν κατὰ δωρεὰν Ἥρας. καὶ Διόνυσος δέ, φασίν, οὕτως ἐτέχθη. καὶ κρήνη δὲ καθ' Ἡρακλείδην ἐκεῖ, ἐξ ἧς οἶνος ῥεῖ μάλα ἡδύς.

1–2 ἀπό τινος Νάξου : ἀπὸ τοῦ Νάξου Καρῶν ἡγεμόνος *(cf. Diod. 5.51.3).* ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ Νάξου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Νάξος *(p.468.7–9 Meineke)*

137A Paradoxographus Vaticanus Graecus 12, Admiranda 13 (p.334. 39–42 Giannini)

128a W Ἡρακλείδης [φησὶ] τὴν ἐν Σαυρομάταις λίμνην οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρνέων ὑπεραίρειν φησί, τὸ δὲ προσελθὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τελευτᾶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἄορνιν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δοκεῖ

cular of the islands.

[1] Listing the group of islands in the Aegean called the Sporades, Pliny mentions Melos. Melos does, however, not belong to the Sporades, but to the Cyclades, as Strabo 10.5.3 485 and Stephanus of Byzantium under Μῆλος rightly locate it.

135B Pliny, *Natural History* I (iv) (*BT* v.1, p.15.47, 16.49, 17.10 Ian-Mayhoff)

In Book IV are included … (from) foreign (authors) … Heraclides.

136 *Suda* N 27 under "Naxian (woman)" (marginal note) (*LG* v.3, p.436.1–4 Adler)

… And Naxos is a notable island among the Cyclades, either named from some Naxus or by derivation from "cram full"[1] which is to seethe. People say that the Naxian women there are the only ones who give birth in the eighth month, by a gift from Hera. And they say that Dionysus was born in this way. Also, according to Heraclides, there is a spring there from which flows quite sweet wine.

[1] νάξαι (*naxai*).

137A Greek Vatican Paradoxographer 12, *Wondrous Things* 13 (p.334. 39–42 Giannini)

Heraclides says that none of the birds flies over the lake in (the land of the) Sauromatae,[1] but any that approaches is killed by the smell. The same is thought to happen around (Lake) Aor-

γίγνεσθαι.

3 *Italia: Str. 5.4.5 244; Eust. Ad Hom. Od. 10.514 (p.1667.47–51; 63–1668.1); Soph. TrGF (t.4, p.523) F 748* Ἄορνος· λίμνη περὶ Τυρσηνίαν*; Varro ap. Plin. Nat. hist. 31.2.21; versus spurius in Verg. Aen. 6.242. Aornus aliis locis situs: Lucr. 6.738–59; Plin. Nat. hist. 4.1.2; Apoll. Rhod. 4.601–3; Etym. M. 115.52–5; Paradoxographus Florentinus Mirabilia de aquis (p.324.95–7 Giannini)*

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1 φησὶ *delevit Giannini* : *alii editores deleverunt* φησί *(v.2)* 3 ἄορνιν *V* : ἄορνον *edd.*

137B Ps.-Antigonus, Historiarum Mirabilium Collectio 152a/b (p.96. 761–98.764 Giannini)

128b W τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Σαρμάταις λίμνην Ἡρακλείδην γράφειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρνέων ὑπεραίρειν, τὸ δὲ προσελθὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀσμῆς τελευτᾶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἄορνον δοκεῖ γίγνεσθαι ...

= Timaeus FGrH 566 F 57 (Timaeus obloquitur narrationi de lacu Aorno; de Timaeo Heraclidi contradicente, cf. **94** *vv. 10–21); Callim. fr. 407 (XXIV 152) Pf.*

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2 ὀρνέων *Keller (ex Paradox. Vat. no. 13 =* **137A***)* : ὀρνιθων *P (accentus erasus)* 3 Ἄορνον *Geffcken* : Ἄορνίν τι *Giannini* : ἀορνείτιν *P* : Ἀορνῖτιν *vulgo* : λίμνην *e scholio in mg. ΣH addidit Musso 1985, p.65*

137C Paradoxographus Florentinus, Mirabilia de Aquis (p.320.59–60 Giannini)

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς λίμνην ἐν Σαυρομάταις φησὶν εἶναι, περὶ ἣν τὰ πετασθέντα τῶν ὀρνέων εἰς αὐτὴν πίπτειν.

2 πίπτειν : πίπτει *Ideler*

138 Aelius Herodianus et Ps.-Herodianus, De orthographia 20 (GG pars 3, t.2, fasc. prior p.534.6–9 Lentz)

129 W Κιμμερίους φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ὑποκάτω τοῦ Πόντου εἶναι. γράφεται καὶ Κερβερίων· καὶ ἔοικε καὶ Σοφοκλῆς περιπεπτωκέναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ γραφῇ· ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀρι-

nis[2] in Italy.

[1] The Sauromatae were a tribe of the Scythians, who lived East of the Tanais river.

[2] Aornis: there was a lake Avernus, near Cumae. Strabo 5.4.5 244 refers to a local myth according to which birds which flew over the lake fell into the water and died there. The account exploits the etymology of the Greek adjective ἄ-ορνος "without birds." However, already Arist. *Mirabilia* 102 839a12–25 refutes this story.

137B Antigonus, *Collection of Marvelous Histories* 152a/b (p.96.761–98.764 Giannini)

That Heraclides writes of the lake in (the land of the) Sarmatae, that none of the birds flies over it, and any that approaches is killed by the smell. The same is thought to happen around the (Lake) Aornos[1] . . .

[1] See **137A** n. 2.

137C Florentine Paradoxographer, *Marvelous Things about Waters* (p.320.59–60 Giannini)

Heraclides Ponticus says that there is a lake in (the land of the) Sauromatae and that any birds that fly around near to it fall into it.

138 Aelius Herodianus and Ps.-Herodianus, *On Orthography* 20 (*GG* part 3, v.2, fasc. prior p.534.6–9 Lentz)

Cimmerians: Heraclides Ponticus[1] says that they (the Cimmerians[2]) live beneath (to the south of) the Black Sea. And (the name) is also written "Cerberians". It looks as if Sophocles, too, chanced upon such a spelling, and likewise also Aristophanes in

στοφάνης ἐν Βατράχοις · οἷον
Ἠ Κερβερίους λέγω.

= Etym. M. s.v. ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΟΥΣ *(p.513.44–9 Gaisford); Ps.-Zonar. Lexicon (p.1208 Tittmann)*

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1 *De Cimmeriis iuxta Heracleam Ponticam habitantibus vid. Arr. FGrH 156 F 76* 2 Κερβερίων *Crates ad Hom. Od. 11.14 (Eust. 1671.2); Crates fr. 38a–f (H.J. Mette, Sphairopoiia. Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Krates von Pergamon, München 1936, p.273–4)* 2–3 *Soph. TrGF (t.4, p.620) F 1069* 3–5 *Ar. Ran. 187*

139 Posidonius, Fragmenta, fr. 49 (t.1, p.70.146–50 Edelstein-Kidd)

69 W μνησθεὶς δὲ τῶν περιπλεῦσαι λεγομένων τὴν Λιβύην, Ἡρόδοτον μὲν οἴεσθαί φησιν (scil. ὁ Ποσειδώνιος) ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθέντας τινὰς τελέσαι τὸν περίπλουν, Ἡρακλείδην δὲ τὸν Ποντικὸν ἐν διαλόγῳ ποιεῖν ἀφιγμένον παρὰ Γέλωνι μάγον τινὰ περιπλεῦσαι φάσκοντα. ἀμάρτυρα δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι φήσας . . .

ex Str. 2.3.4 98 (t.1, p.240.13–7 Radt) = FGrH 87 (pars 2 A, p.236.20–4) F 28 2 *Her. 4.42–4*

2–3 Δαρείου *codd. 'error Strabonis vel Posidonii' Müller-Dübner* : Νεκῶ *Gosselin Jones, cf. Hdt. 4.42* 4 Γέλωνι *codd. Jacoby Theiler* : Γέλωνα *Korais Edelstein-Kidd*

140 Posidonius, Fragmenta, fr. 49 (t.1, p.72.233–4 Edelstein-Kidd)

70 W θαυμάσιος δὴ κατὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, τὸν μὲν τοῦ μάγου περίπλουν, ὃν Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν, ἀμάρτυρον νομίσας . . .

ex Str. 2.3.5 100 (t.1, p.244.24–5 Radt) = FGrH 87 (pars 2 A, p.238.22–3) F 28

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1 θαυμάσιος *Cobet Radt* : θαυμαστὸς *codd., Edelstein-Kidd* ὁ Ποσειδώνιος *Casaubonus* : ὅπως *codd.*

Frogs, for example:

Obviously I mean Cerberians.

[1] The possibility that this fragment belongs to Heraclides Ponticus the younger cannot be excluded, see Wehrli p. 104.

[2] The Cimmerians are mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 11.13–9 as the people on whom the sun never shines. Driven out from south Russia, they subjected various people in Asia Minor during the 7th century B.C.

139 Posidonius, *Fragments,* fr. 49 (v.1, p.70.146–50 Edelstein-Kidd)

In mentioning those who are said to have circumnavigated Libya, he (*sc*. Posidonius) says that Herodotus thinks certain persons sent by Darius completed the circumnavigation, and that Heraclides Ponticus in a dialogue makes a certain (Persian) wise man[1] arrive at the court of Gelon[2] and say that he has circumnavigated (Libya). And, after saying that these stories have no witness to confirm them *etc*.

[1] Wehrli p. 83 assumes that this wise man from Persia is Zoroaster. In his edition Wehrli has this fragment follow **79**.

[2] Gelon was tyrant of Gela in Sicily *ca*. 491 B.C., and of Syracuse *ca*. 485–478.

140 Posidonius, *Fragments,* fr. 49 (v.1, p.72.233–4 Edelstein-Kidd)

Indeed Posidonius is amazing (in his attitude) about all this, on the one hand holding that the circumnavigation of the (Persian) wise man, which Heraclides has mentioned, has no witness to confirm it *etc*.

De Templis Condendis (**141–43**)

Templa condenda] **17** (55)

141 Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrepticus ad Graecos 2.39.8 (p.62.36–8 Marcovich)

153 W Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν φησίν, ἔνθα τὸ Ἄκτιόν ἐστιν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου τὸ ἱερόν, ταῖς μυίαις προθύεσθαι βοῦν.

Cf. Ael. De nat. anim. 11.8.

142A Strabo, Geographica 13.1.48 604.20–32 (t.3, p.590 Radt)

154 W ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῷζον, ὁ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου· Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου. συνοικειοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν (εἴτε μῦθον) τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν μυῶν. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις (οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλῖνος ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοί) χρησμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονήν, ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται. συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς φασι περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν· νύκτωρ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀρουραίων μυῶν ἐξανθῆσαν διαφαγεῖν, ὅσα σκύτινα τῶν τε ὅπλων καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθι μεῖναι (τούτους δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἴδην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ προσονομάσαι). Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς πληθύοντάς φησι τοὺς μύας περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νομισθῆναί τε ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ μυί.

Cf. Ael. De nat. anim. 12.5 1 *templum Apollinis Sminthei: Str. 13.1.63 612; Paus. 10.12.5; Amm. Marc. 22.8.3* 1–4 *de simulacro vid. Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39 (34.13–18) = t.1, p.56.7–9; 57.6–7 van der Valk* 5–13 *vid. Str. 13.1.64 613.; Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39 (34.32–35.4) = t.1. p.56.26–57.6 van der Valk; Polemo ap. Clem. Al. Protr. 2.39.7 (sequitur* **141***); Anon. Comment. in Arist. Rhet. 2.24 (CAG t.21, pars 2, p.151.13–6)* 7 *Callinus IEG (t.2) fr. 7* 12–13 *De nomine Idae vid. Eust. Comment. ad Hom. Il. 1.39 (35.4-5) = t.1, p.57.12–4 van der Valk; Eust. Comment. ad Dionys. Perieget. 498 (GGM t.2, p.310.21–2)*

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Foundations of Sanctuaries (**141–43**)

Foundations of Sanctuaries] **17** (55)

141 Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 2.39.8 (p.62.36–8 Marcovich)

Heraclides in *Foundations of Sanctuaries* says that in the area of Acarnania, where the cape of Actium is located and the sanctuary of Apollo of Actium, a cow is sacrificed first to the flies.

142A Strabo, *Geography* 13.1.48 604.20–32 (v.3, p.590 Radt)

And in this Chrysa is (located) also the sanctuary of Sminthean Apollo,[1] and the symbol which preserves the true meaning of the name, the mouse, lies under the foot of the wooden statue and they are the work of Scopas the Parian. People associate with this place also the story (or myth) about the mice. The Teucrians as they arrived from Crete — Callinus the elegiac poet[2] was the first to pass on this tradition about them, but many followed him — were told by an oracle to establish their permanent abode wherever the earthborn should attack them. And they say that this happened to them in the area around Hamaxitus.[3] For at night a great multitude of field mice burst forth to eat whatever tools and utensils were of leather. And they stayed there, and it was they who also named (Mount) Ida after the one in Crete. And Heraclides Ponticus says that the mice, which were abundant around the sanctuary, were considered sacred, and for this reason the wooden statue was represented as treading on the mouse.

[1] Chryses was priest of the Sminthean Apollo. For his prayer to Apollo, see Hom. *Il.* 1.37 ff.

[2] Callinus of Ephesus lived in the first half of the 7th century B.C. The fragments of his poems are collected in *IEG* vol. 2, pp. 47–50.

[3] Hamaxitus was a city in the Troad, cp. Strab. 9.5.19 440; 13.1.13 612.

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6 ὡς pro οὓς? *West*

142B Eustathius, Commentarius ad Hom. Il. 1.39 (t.1, p.57.14–17 van der Valk)

Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ὁ Ποντικὸς πληθύοντάς φησι τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν μῦας νομισθῆναι ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι, βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῷ μυΐ. διάφοροι δέ, φησι, τόποι, ἐν οἷς τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα.

1 Ἡρακλέων *codd.*: Ἡρακλείδης *van der Valk in app. crit.*

143 Suda Λ 867 s.v. Λύσιοι τελεταί (LG t.3, p.302.24–8 Adler)

155 W Λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου. Βοιωτοὶ γὰρ ἁλόντες ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ φυγόντες εἰς Τροφωνίου, κατ’ ὄναρ ἐκείνου Διόνυσον ἔσεσθαι βοηθὸν φήσαντος, μεθύουσιν ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Θρᾳξίν, ἔλυσαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ Διονύσου Λυσίου ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

= Pausanias atticista fr. λ 28 (Erbse, AbhBerlin 1950, p.194); Ar. Byz. fr. 421 Slater; Apostol. Cent. 10 (CPG t.2, p.513.14-514.4); Phot. Lex. s.v. λύσιοι τελεταί *(Λ 482 Theodoridis), cf. Paus. 9.16.6* αἱ τελεταὶ καὶ ... οἱ λύσιοι θεοί *Plat. Rep. 2.366A7*

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4 ἔλυσαν: καὶ (δι)ελύθησαν *codd. Apost.*

Res Antiquae (**144–5**)

De inventis] **17** (51)

144 Orion, Etymologicum, cod. Parisinus 2653 (p.118.17–28 Sturz)

152 W ὀβολός· τροπῇ τοῦ ε̄ εἰς ο̄. πρὸ τούτου γὰρ ὀβελίσκοις τραχέσιν ἐνομίστευον τὰ πρὸς σταθμόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες ὀβελός, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀβολός. πρῶτος δὲ πάντων Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ διδοὺς τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἄργει Ἥρᾳ. ἐπειδὴ τότε οἱ ὀβελίσκοι τὴν χεῖρα ἐπλήρουν, τουτέστι τὴν δράκα, ἡμεῖς καίπερ μὴ πληροῦντες τὴν χεῖρα τοῖς ἓξ ὀβολοῖς δραχμὴν αὐτὴν λέγομεν, παρὰ τὸ δράξασθαι. ὅθεν ἔτι

142B Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer* Il. 1.39 (v.1, p.57.14–17 van der Valk)

Heraclides Ponticus says that the mice around the sanctuary became numerous and were considered sacred, and that for this reason the wooden statue was represented as treading on the mouse. (There are) different places, he says, in which the name of (the Apollo) Smintheus (is found).

143 *Suda* Λ (Lambda) 867 under "Liberating Rituals" (*LG* v.3. p.302.24–8 Adler)

The Liberating Rituals: those of Dionysus. For when the Boeotians had been conquered by the Thracians and had fled to the (oracle) of Trophonius,[1] he said to them in a dream that Dionysus would be their helper, and they attacked the Thracians while the latter were drunk, and set each other free. And they founded a sanctuary of Dionysus the Liberator, as Heraclides Ponticus says.

[1] Trophonius, cp. **122A** n. 3.

Antiquities (**144–5**)

On Discoveries] **17** (51)

144 Orion, *Etymologicum*, Paris codex 2653 (p.118.17–28 Sturz)

'Obolos': (has arisen) by a changing the 'e' into 'o.' For formerly they used to use jagged nails for determining weight. The Ionians (say) 'obelos,' but we (say) 'obolos.' Pheidon of Argos[1] was the first of all to mint coinage in Aegina, and he gave out the coinage and collected the nails and dedicated them to Hera in Argos. Since at that time the nails used to fill the hand, that is, the grasp,[2] we, although we do not fill our hand with the six obols, call this amount a 'drachma,' derived from 'taking by the

καὶ νῦν ὀβολοστάτην καλοῦμεν τὸν τοκιστήν, ἐπειδὴ σταθμοῖς τοὺς ὀβελίσκους παρεδίδουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. οὕτως Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

= Arist. fr. 481 R[3]

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1 (τροπῇ) – 10 ἀρχαῖοι ~ *Etym. M. 613.10–9 s.v.* Ὀβελίσκος 3–4 *De Pheidone primo nummos cudente vid. Ephor. FGrH 70 F 176; Marm. Par. ep. 30 Jacoby* 6–8 *cf. Plut. Lys. 17.3; Eust. Ad Hom. Il. 1.463 (136.9–12) = t.1, p.208.30–209.3 van der Valk, et ad Il. 2.336 (421.25–7) = t.1, p.662.7–9 van der Valk* 10–11 *Disputatur an Heraclides Ponticus posterior, i.e. grammaticus (vid.* **1** *adn. 23), intelligendus sit, cf. Wehrli p.111; Gottschalk p.162*

145 Plutarchus, De gloria Atheniensium 3 347C (BT t.2, p.126.12–127.1 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

156 W τὴν τοίνυν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, Θέρσιππος ὁ Ἐρχιεύς· οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν Εὐκλέα δραμόντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις θερμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης καὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐμπεσόντα τῶν πρώτων τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπεῖν ʽχαίρετεʼ, καὶ ʽχαίρομενʼ, εἶτʼ εὐθὺς ἐκπνεῦσαι.

2 *Thersippus PA 7200; PAA (t.9) 513000* 3 *Eucles PA 5701; PAA (t.7) 436415*

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2 ἐρχιεύς *Wilamowitz (cf. Steph. Byz. p.282 Meineke* Ἐρχία ... ὁ δημότης Ἐρχιεύς) : ἐρωεύς *Ω* : ἐροιάδης *LGPN, t.2, p.224* : ΕΡΟΙΑΔΗΣ *dubitanter Traill PAA (t.9) 513000, cf. Steph. Byz. p.279 Meineke* Ἐροιάδαι ... ὁ δημότης Ἐροιάδης 3 ὅπλοις *nota in Aldina* : ὁπλίταις *codd.* 5 χαίρομεν *codd.* : νικῶμεν *Cobet ex Luc. 64 (Pro lapsu inter salutandum) 3*

handful'.[3] This is why even now we call the money lender an 'obol weigher',[4] since the ancients used to hand over their nails by the weight. Thus (says) Heraclides Ponticus.[5]

[1] Pheidon was tyrant of Argos, probably in the middle of the 8th century B.C. According to Hdt. 6.127.3 he reigned after the Olympic games were well established.

[2] "drax" (δράξ).

[3] "draxasthai" (δράξασθαι). Six obols are one drachma.

[4] "obolostaten" (ὀβολοστάτην).

[5] In favor of attributing this statement to Heraclides Ponticus the older and not the younger namesake, the grammarian, is the fact that of the two passages in Eustathius that give the same account as **144** (*Commentary on Homer* Il. 1.463 [136.9–12 = v.1, p.208. 30–209.3 van der Valk] and 2.336 [421.25–7 = v. 1, p. 662.7–9 van der Valk]), the latter is immediately followed by a sentence (v. 1, p. 662.10 van der Valk) giving the content of **112**, where Heraclides Ponticus is explicitly mentioned as the source. The same Heraclides seems to be the source in both cases.

145 Plutarch, *On the Fame of the Athenians* 3 347C (*BT* v.2, p.126.12–127.1 Nachstädt-Sieveking-Titchener)

Furthermore, as Heraclides Ponticus relates, the report of the battle at Marathon was brought back by Thersippus of Erchia, but the majority say that Eucles ran in full armor, hot from (the) battle, and burst in at the doors of the senior statesmen, and said nothing more than "Rejoice" and "We rejoice," and then immediately breathed his last.

III. INCERTA

146 Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 4.12 134B–C (BT t.1, p.304.23–305.5 Kaibel)

10 W μήποτε δὲ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθος [τῆς ὀρχήσεως] κωμῳδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον λέγων οὕτως·

οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὀρχούμενον
ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βάκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται
ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,
ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκὼς τέχνην,
C ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ;

4–8 = *Antiphanes PCG (t.II, p.370) fr. 111* 4–5 (βάκηλον) *Eust. ad Hom. Iliad. 1.598 (p.159.43) = t.1, p. 246.43–4 van der Valk*

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2 τῆς ὀρχήσεως *del. Kaibel* 6 πᾶσιν *ACE* : παισὶν *Kock* 8 Εὐριπίδῃ : Εὐριπίδου *propos. M. Schmidt, Wehrli*

III. UNCERTAIN

146 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 4.12 134B–C (*BT* v.1, p.304.23–305.5 Kaibel)

Perhaps also Antiphanes[1] in *The Carians* with reference to the Attic custom [of dancing] ridicules one of the wise men[2] for dancing during dinner, speaking thus:

Don't you see him dancing,
gesticulating with his hands,[3] the effeminate fellow?
Doesn't he feel ashamed
he who explains Heraclitus to all,
who alone has discovered the art of Theodectes,[4]
C who composes the summaries of Euripides?

[1] Antiphanes was a prolific Athenian poet of the Middle Comedy. This fragment is 111 (*PCG* II, 1991).

[2] These lines have been referred to Heraclides Ponticus, first by Trendelenburg ap. A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Poetarum Comoediae Mediae*, vol. 3, Berlin 1840, p. 60; cp. U. v.Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 197 n. 18; O. Weinreich, "Epigramm und Pantomimus," *Sitzungsberichte Heidelberger Akademie, Philos.-Histor. Kl.*, 1944/48, 1. Abh., 136–40). This attribution can be supported by the fact that Heraclides interpreted Heraclitus, cp. **17** (41); **127**. Schrader, *Philologus* 44, 1885, pp. 251–4 points out that the description given by Antiphanes does not fit any of the other authors known for interpreting Heraclitus (**127**). And the composition of the summaries, or rather: the main issues, of plays of Euripides mentioned here, fits Heraclides' literary interests in the three famous Athenian tragedians, cp. **17** (31) and (36). Heraclides wrote on rhetoric **17** (49) as well. Gottschalk p. 159–60 rejects this attribution solely on the grounds that the "discovery of the art of Theodectes" is ascribed to this man of wisdom. But this is comic exaggeration of an interest Heraclides had (Weinreich, p. 137) and should not be taken literally. It might be difficult, "unter den Zeitgenossen des Antiphanes einen anderen σοφός zu finden, auf den sich alle Indizien ebenso vereinigen liessen wie eben auf Herakleides" (Weinreich, p. 138).

[3] This was, however, considered a part of proper dancing: Xen. *Symp*. 2.16.

[4] Theodectes, from Phaselis, 4th century B.C., was an orator, a tragedian and author of a rhetorical treatise of which Aristotle made a summary (Diog. Laert. 5.24), which may be identical with the rhetorical work *Theodecteia*: Arist. *Rhet*. 3.9 1410b2.

147 Aristocles, De Aristotelis philosophia, fr. 2.3 (p.12 Chiesara)

τίς δ’ ἂν πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπ’ Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ μουσικοῦ λεγομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος; ἐν γὰρ τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ φησὶν ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ ἀντοικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ τινας Περίπατον ξένους ὄντας. οἴονται οὖν ἔνιοι ταῦτα περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λέγειν αὐτόν, Ἀριστοξένου διὰ παντὸς εὐφημοῦντος Ἀριστοτέλην.

= Aristocles ap. Euseb. Praep. evang. 15.2.3 (t.8, pars 2, p.346.23–347.4 Mras-des Places); Aristox. (SdA t.2) fr. 64; no. 58d Düring 1957; deest in R^3 2–4 *‘Quosdam’ absente Platone (vid.* **3***) Academiam instituere conantes intellexit Heraclidem Ponticum U.v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Antigonos von Karystos, 1881, p. 280 adn. 12 (in p.281), cf. Susemihl, BPhW 18 (1898) 259*

2 τῷ[2] I^b*ON om. V* : τοῦ *Stephanus* 3 αὐτῶν I^b 5 διὰ παντὸς *codd. plurimi* : δίαιτάν τις I^b

148 Macrobius, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis 1.2.20–1 (BT p. 8.4–12 Willis)

adeo semper ita se et sciri et coli numina maluerunt qualiter in vulgus antiquitas fabulata est, quae et imagines et simulacra formarum talium prorsus alienis, et aetates tam incrementi quam diminutionis ignaris, et amictus ornatusque varios corpus non
21 habentibus adsignavit. haec Pythagoras ipse atque Empedocles, Parmenides quoque et † Heraclitus † de dis fabulati sunt, nec secus Timaeus qui progenies eorum sicut traditum fuerat executus est.

6 Heraclitus *codd.* : Heraclides *L. Jan, vid. Marcovich, Heraclitus 2001, Appendix: Nomen Heracliti lapsu scriptum p.602–3 (ii)*

Hic locus non inclusus est in fragmenta Heracliti collecta a Diels DK

147 Aristocles, *On the Philosophy of Aristotle,* fr. 2.3 (p.12 Chiesara)

Who would trust the statements made by the expert on music Aristoxenus in his *Life of Plato*? He says that during (Plato's) travels and absence some who were strangers (in Athens) rose up against him and established a rival school, (the) Peripatos. Now, some believe that he (Aristoxenus) made this statement about Aristotle, although he always speaks well of Aristotle.[1]

[1] "übrigens scheint mir evident, dass Aristoxenus … eben den Herakleides meint. natürlich verdreht er den sachverhalt," U. v.Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 1881, p. 280 n. 12 (p. 281), cp. Susemihl, *BPhW* 18 (1898) 259.

148 Macrobius, *Commentaries on* the Dream of Scipio 1.2.20–21 (*BT* p.8.4–12 Willis)

And the divine beings have always preferred to be understood and worshipped in accordance with the tales that were fabricated in antiquity for the masses. And (in antiquity) pictures and statues were assigned to beings who completely lacked such shapes, and different stages of age to beings who are not subjected to growth or diminution, and clothes and various adornments to beings that do not have a body. Pythagoras himself and Empedocles[1] and Parmenides,[2] too, and †Heraclitus†[3] have told these fabulous things about the gods, just like Timaeus[4] who has set out a complete account of their offspring just as it had been passed down.

[1] It is difficult to understand why Macrobius mentioned Empedocles here, since Empedocles had objected to poets who in their myths presented gods in human shape: 31 B 134 DK. However, Macrobius might have been thinking of the practice of Empedocles to give the names of gods to forces of nature, *e.g*. Aphrodite: 31 B 17.22 ff.; B 22 DK, cp. below n. 4 on Timaeus.

[2] In the prologue of Parmenides' poem (28 B 1.14 ff. DK) the goddess *Dike* teaches Parmenides the secrets of truth.

149A Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentarium, liber tertius 141D (BT t.2, p. 8.7–9 Diehl)

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅτι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἀνὰ λόγον εἶναι τῷ πυρὶ δείκνυσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἄβαριν λόγῳ·

Comment. in Plat. Tim. 31B 2 *Pythagoras, i.e. persona in dialogo a Heraclide Pontico conscripto, vid. H. Diels, Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie, t.3 (1890) p. 468 adn. 39*

149B Iamblichus, Vita Pythagorae 90; 93; 147 (p.169.5–16 Thesleff)

καὶ τὸ περὶ φύσεως σύγγραμμα καὶ ἄλλο τὸ περὶ θεῶν ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτοις αὐτὸν (scil. Ἄβαριν) ἀνεδίδαξεν (scil. Πυθαγόρας).

93 οὕτω δὴ καταμείναντι αὐτῷ, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, φυσιολογίαν τε καὶ θεολογίαν ἐπιτετμημένην παρέδωκε, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἱεροσκοπίας τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πρόγνωσιν παρέδωκεν, ἡγούμενος ταύτην καθαρωτέραν εἶναι καὶ θειοτέραν καὶ τοῖς οὐρανίοις τῶν θεῶν ἀριθμοῖς οἰκειοτέραν, ἄλλα τε τὰ ἁρμόζοντα τῷ Ἀβάριδι παρέδωκεν ἐπιτηδεύματα.

147 ἐποιεῖτο δὲ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ θαυμαστὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ θεραπείαν τῶν θεῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα συγγενεστάτην ... ἐπειδὴ Ἄβαρις ... πρόγνωσιν διὰ θυμάτων ἐπορίζετο, ... βουλόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας μὴ ἀφαιρεῖν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τἀληθὲς σπουδήν, παρασχεῖν δὲ ... χωρὶς αἵματος ..., τὸ λεγόμενον παναληθὲς ἀπετέλεσεν αὐτῷ, δι' ἀριθμητικῆς ἐπιστήμης συντεταγμένον.

2 *De Abaride, vid.* **24B** *T v.6* 16–17 *At cf.* **128** *vv.8–9*

[3] According to Marcovich, the name of Heraclitus is written by mistake. Heraclides Ponticus would be a better candidate for the views Macrobius ascribes to this group of philosophers.

[4] Timaeus is the person in the Platonic dialogue of the same name who gave a brief account of the generation of gods, making Oceanus and Tethys "children" of Earth and Heaven, whose grandchildren had brothers and more children: *Timaeus* 40E–41A.

149A Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus, book 3 141D (*BT* v.2, p.8.7–9 Diehl)

And besides, that Pythagoras in his exposition addressed to Abaris demonstrates the eye to be comparable to fire.

149B Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 90; 93; 147 (p.169.5–16 Thesleff)[1]

And in a most succinct manner he (Pythagoras) taught him (Abaris) the treatise *On Nature* and furthermore that *On Gods*.

93 When he (Abaris) stayed, he (Pythagoras) thus taught him, as we just said, his theory of nature and of the gods in an abbreviated manner. And instead of divination through the inspection of sacrificial victims, he taught him prognosis through numbers, which he took to be purer, more divine and more akin to the heavenly numbers of the gods. And he taught Abaris other practices which suited him.

147 Through these same numbers, he (Pythagoras) developed an admirable method of predicting the future and of worship of the gods in accordance with these numbers, one that was eminently akin (to them) … When Abaris … furnished (a) prognosis by means of sacrificial victims … Pythagoras, who did not want to take away from him his serious pursuit of truth, but wanted to provide (one) … without blood …, produced for him the so-called all-truth, which is structured through knowledge of

Tragoediae (**150–4**)

150 Suda Θ 282 s.v. Θέσπις (LG t.2, p.711.11–13 Adler)

μνημονεύεται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ (scil. Θέσπιδος) Ἆθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, Ἱερεῖς, Ἠΐθεοι, Πενθεύς.

= **17** (58) *et TrGF Thespis (t.1 p.63.7–8 ²Snell-Kannicht) T 1; ibid. (p.65) 1 F 1 a/b* *De tragoediis Heraclidis Pontici sub nomine auctoris Thespidis scriptis vid.* **1** (92) *cum adn. 17*

151 Pollux, Onomasticon 7.45 (t.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe)

ΠΕΝΘΕΥΣ

καὶ Θέσπις δέ πού φησιν ἐν τῷ Πένθει
ἔργῳ νόμιζε νεβρίδ’ ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

= Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65 ²Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 1c

arithmetic.

[1] These passages could be based on Heraclides Ponticus (for Heraclides as a possible source of Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 91–93, see Rehm, *RhM* 67 (1912) p. 421). Not only do they reveal Heraclides' interest in Pythagoras [cp. **17** (50)] and his teaching (cp. **25**), but Abaris also features in them prominently (cp. for Heraclides **24B**; **55**; **130**–**2**) in the context of the prediction of the future which was of interest to Heraclides [**17** (40); **117**–**26**].

Tragedies (**150–4**)

150 *Suda* Θ (Theta) 282 under "Thespis" (*LG* v.2, p.711.11–13 Adler)

Of his (Thespis')[1] plays there are mentioned *The Funeral Games of Pelias or Phorbas*, *Priests, Young Men*, *Pentheus*.

[1] For the reasons to consider these works as written by Heraclides Ponticus, see above **1** n. 17, cp. F.G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus geordnet*, 3. Abt., Bonn 1841, 1096–8. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, Berlin 1935, 373 n.2, declared categorically that one should not believe the hateful accusation by Aristoxenus that Heraclides falisified these lines (**1** [92]). However, if according to Diog. Laert. 8.8 Ion of Chios said about Pythagoras that he composed some poems and attributed (ἀνενεγκεῖν) them to Orpheus, then one need not read any malice into Aristoxenus' statement about Heraclides' same practice. Snell-Kannicht *TrGF* 1 (v.1, p.65) F 1 refer "(d)e Heraclide Pontico auctore horum fragmentorum," *i.e.,* for the attribution of fragments **150**–**4** to Heraclides Ponticus as author, to the statement by Aristoxenus **1** (92).

151 Pollux, *Nomenclature* 7.45 (v.2, p.64.14–5 Bethe)

Thespis, too, says somewhere in his *Pentheus*:

> Take it that (Dionysus[1]) has in fact a fawnskin as an outer cloak.

[1] The parallel in Eur. *Bacchae* 137 suggests that the character is Dionysus.

152 Anonymus in Pap. Paris. 2 col. VIII.1–4 (p.153.1–4 Donnini Maccio-Funghi)

οὐ
Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς οὕτως
ἀπέφασκεν· "οὐκ ἐξαθρήσας
οἶδα· ἰδὼν δέ σοι λέγω."

Scriptum c. 159–156 B.C., cf. Donnini Maccio-Funghi l.l. p.129–30 = Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65 [2]Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 2; Chrysippus (?) fr. 180, 12 (SVF t.2, p.55.21–2 v. Arnim)

153 Plutarchus, De audiendis poetis 14 36B (BT t.1, p.73.11–3 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

ὁρᾷς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,
οὐ ψεῦδος οὐδὲ κόμπον οὐ μῶρον γέλων
ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μοῦνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

= Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.65 [2]Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 3

154 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 5.8 48.7 (t.2, p.359.9–17 Stählin-Früchtel)

ἴδε σοὶ σπένδω κναξζβὶ<χ> {τὸ} λευκὸν
ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν·
ἴδε σοὶ θύπτην τυρὸν μίξας
ἐρυθρῷ μελιτῷ, κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πὰν
δίκερως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἁγίων.
ἴδε σοὶ Βρομίου {αἴθοπα} φλεγμὸν λείβω.

Thespis TrGF (t.1, p.66 [2]Snell-Kannicht) 1 F 4 1 † κνάξ· γάλα †λευκόν *Hsch. κ 86* ζβίχ· λευκόν *Hsch. ζ 85*

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1 κναξζβὶχ *Stählin*: κναξζβὶ *L*: κνάξ, ζβὶχ *Salmasius Welcker 1841 p.1097 adn. 2* τὸ *del. Toup* 2 ἀπὸ *codd.*: γάλα *Nauck* 4 μελιτῷ *(vid. Hsch. κ 35* μελιτόν· κηρίον) *Schwartz*: μέλιτι *L* 6 αἴθοπα *del. Nauck*: αἴθωπα *L*

152 Anonymous in *Pap.Paris.* 2 col.VIII.1–4 (p.153.1–4 Donnini Maccio-Funghi)

The poet Thespis did not make a denial in the following manner: "I know without having considered it closely, and having seen I tell you."

153 Plutarch, *How the Young Should Study Poetry* 14 36B (*BT* v.1, p.73.11–13 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz-Gärtner)

You see that Zeus is first among the gods in this:
neither lies nor boasts nor foolish laughter
he practises; and he alone does not know pleasure.

154 Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 5.8 48.7 (v.2, p.359.9–17 Stählin-Früchtel)

Behold, to you I pour white milk,
having squeezed it from yellow goats teats:
Behold, for you I mix (pressed?) cheese
with red honeycomb, and put it down on your holy altars,
Pan with double horn(s).
Behold, to you I pour the {firey} *phlegmon* (life-juice?) of Bromius (= Dionysus).

155 POxy. 664+3544, ediderunt M.W. Haslam, Heraclides Ponticus 1 *De imperio* (?), in: CPF, *Parte I, vol.1***, 1992, 199-214; W. Lapini, Il POxy. 664 di Eraclide Pontico e la cronologia dei Cipselidi, Firenze 1996. Quaestio, an Heraclides Ponticus auctor dialogi sit, cuius reliquiae in papyris Oxy. 664 et 3544 praeservatae sunt, vix resolvi posse videtur, vid. Lapini, op. laud. p.35; cf. Dorandi, RUSCH t.15, cap. 1.

IV. REIECTA

1. Wehrli fr. 13c, quod est frustulum papyri Herculanensis (editum a S. Mekler in libro: Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculanensis, Berolini 1902, p.XVIe [XXI]), removendum est; vid. Snell-Kannicht, TrGF t.1, ed. secunda, p.349, adn. ad p.169 no. 40 T 4; cf. Dorandi, RUSCH 15, cap.1.

2. Wehrli fr. 33 = S. Mekler Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculanensis, Berolini 1902, p.27 col. X. Lectiones propositae a Mekler post novam examinationem papyri confirmari non potuerunt, vid. Dorandi, RUSCH 15, cap.1.

3. Wehrli fr. 103 = Servius, Commentarius ad Vergilii Aeneidem 1.273. Heraclides laudatus a Servio non Heraclides Ponticus, immo Heraclides Lembus est. Vid. Festus 17.269, p.329.6–15 Lindsay; cf. Schütrumpf, “The Origin of the Name of Rome — a Passage Wrongly Attributed to Heraclides Ponticus,” *Philologus* 151 (2007) 160–1.

4. Argumentum in commentario Porphyrii Εἰς τὰ ἁρμονικὰ Πτολεμαίου ὑπόμνημα, edito ab I. Düring, Porphyrios. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios (Gothoburgii 1932, denuo 1980), γ 3, pp.30–1, auctori recentiori attribuendum est, cf. Wehrli p.112–3; Gottschalk p.157.

155 *POxy*. 664+3544, edd. M.W. Haslam, "Heraclides Ponticus 1 *De imperio* (?)," in: *CPF*, Part I, vol. 1**, 1992, 199–214; W. Lapini, *Il POxy. 664 di Eraclide Pontico e la cronologia del Cipselidi*, Firenze 1996. It appears to be impossible to resolve the question, whether Heraclides Ponticus is the author of the dialogue, remains of which have been preserved in the papyri *Oxy*. 664 and 3544; see Lapini, *l.c.* p. 35; cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

IV. REJECTED

1. Wehrli fr. 13c, a small fragment of a papyrus from Herculaneum (edited by S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculanensis*, Berlin 1902, p. XVIe [XXI]), is to be rejected; see Snell-Kannicht, *TrGF* v. 1, 2nd edition, p. 349, note on p. 169 no. 40 T 4; cp. Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

2. Wehrli fr. 33 = S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum index Herculanensis*, Berlin 1902, p. 27 col. X. The readings by Mekler could not be confirmed by a re-examination of the papyrus. See Dorandi, *RUSCH* vol. 15, chap. 1.

3. Wehrli fr. 103 = Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's* Aeneid I.273. The Heraclides mentioned by Servius is not Heraclides Ponticus but Heraclides Lembos. See Festus 17.269, p. 329, 6–15 Lindsay; cp. Schütrumpf, "The Origin of the Name of Rome — a Passage Wrongly Attributed to Heraclides Ponticus," *Philologus* 151 (2007) 160–1.

4. The argument in Porphyry's commentary *On Claudius Ptolemy's Harmonics*, edited by I. Düring, *Porphyrios. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (Göteborg 1932, reprinted 1980), γ 3, pp. 30–1, is to be attributed to a more recent author; cp. Wehrli, p. 112–3; Gottschalk, p. 157.

INDICES

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